THE Nation

AMERICA'S LEADING LIBERAL WEEKLY SINCE 1865

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The Shape of Things

WHETHER THE FALL OF NANKING TAKES place this week or next, Chiang and his regime can already be written off. It was evidently this conclusion which prompted the American and British governments to reject the desperate appeal of the Nationalist government for mediation with the Communists. The selfishness and self-delusion of the Kuomintang leaders have brought things to a point where there is no longer an inch left for bargaining. With the fall of Tientsin and the spectacle of armies looking only for a hole through which to escape, it was inevitable that Mao Tse-tung should have demanded unconditional surrender. In fact, unconditional surrender had already been put into practice by several of Chiang's generals in defiance of orders by the Generalissimo to fight to the end. Over the week-end, a peace agreement for all North China was hurriedly proposed by General Fu Tso-yi, the government commander. Small details, such as the story that ten big American limousines belonging to Chiang had already been shipped to Formosa, must have helped to extinguish any remaining desire on the part of his commanders to die for the Generalissimo. As we shall probably hear all kinds of tales of Communist atrocities in the near future, it is important to note the contents of the message sent to the State Department by our general consul in Tientsin, Robert L. Smyth, reporting that the conduct of the occupying troops was "exemplary." Such reports should encourage the State Department to continue its realistic view of the situation and to pursue in regard to the new China a policy which coincides with the facts.

*

THANKS TO THE STATE OF GEORGIA, THE President's civil-rights program has a better chance than ever to get through Congress. If proof is needed that certain states are still powerless or unwilling to stamp out the crime of lynching, Georgia has provided it in the Mallard case. If a federal anti-poll-tax law is held to be unnecessary on the ground that the states themselves are abandoning such devices, Georgia is there to refute the argument. No satire on Dixie justice could compete with the truth as acted out in the town of Lyons, where two white men theoretically stood trial for their lives last week in the lynch murder of Robert Mallard. Originally a Northerner, Mallard had offended some of his Toombs County neighbors by his "superior" attitude, by owning a new car, and by refusing to let white men get the better of him in arguments. A band of hooded men stopped his car on a country road and shot him to death in the presence of his wife and two young cousins. On the widow's identification, two men were indicted for the crime. The crux of the case, said the prosecutor, was whether or not the jury was willing to believe her. But so faint was his ardor for a conviction that he failed even to challenge prospective jurors for holding preconceived judgments, with the result that two of them, on invitation, stepped down from the jury box and testified to the good reputation of the defendant. Mrs. Mallard's they declared "pretty bad," though they offered no substantiation, and both said they would not believe her under oath. The prosecutor took no exception, the jurors returned to their box, and when they subsequently retired with their fellows it took only twenty minutes to bring in the preordained acquittal.

*

FAR FROM SHOWING ANY SIGNS OF SHAME over this judicial indorsement of murder, the Georgia legislature made the case the subject of a joke and moved on to Governor Talmadge's four-point white-supremacy plan. His program would wipe out the present registration list, containing the names of 150,000 Negroes, end permanent registration, restore the poll tax abolished under Ellis Arnall, and require prospective voters to "explain in a simple, fair, and reasonable manner" any section of the state or federal Constitution, the registration official to judge the performance. With the impetuousness of youth, "Young Hummon," it would seem to us, is trying to move too fast as well as backward. At one stroke, he would like to end what he denounces as the menace of "Negro bloc voting" and, by cutting registration to the bone, secure machine control of the state for years to come. The federal courts, we assume, will take care of the requirement to explain the Constitution. Georgians who enjoyed civilized government under Arnall will fight the scheme to make the future safe for Talmadge. And Congress, we hope, will take advantage of the renewed incentive to pass both anti-lynching and anti-poll-tax measures. The proof of the desire will be the success of Democratic leaders in putting an end to the insufferable filibuster. We do not regard the regrettable postponement of this question as a sign of Administration wavering, but neither do we see

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• IN THIS ISSUE •

EDITORIALS
The Shape of Things 85
Grass Roots Under Glass 88
Mr. Bevin Goes Too Far *by Freda Kirchwey* 88
Nazi Prisoners in Egypt's Army 89

ARTICLES
Guns and a Little Butter *by Thomas Sancton* 90
Twilight of Caribbean Imperialism *by Paul Blanshard* 92
Technology Prods Big Steel *by Leonard Engel* 94
Cops and Robbers in Japan *by William Costello* 96
Cartoon Round-up *by David Low* 98
The New International Morality by *Del Vayo* 100
The Cominform's Plans for the Balkans I. People's Democracy Defined *by Alexander Werth* 101

BOOKS AND THE ARTS
Literary Task Force *by Arthur Schlesinger, Jr.* 103
The Facts of Life About China *by Everett D. Hawkins* 104
The "Old Lion" *by McAlister Coleman* 106
Fiction in Review *by Diana Trilling* 107
Art *by Clement Greenberg* 108
Records *by B. H. Haggin* 110

LETTERS TO THE EDITORS 111

CROSSWORD PUZZLE No. 297 *by Frank W. Lewis* 112

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any sense in protracted hearings on the question of a Senate rule. There has been enough cant about "gradualism" and the statesmanlike desire of Southern states to solve their own problems. The Mallards are not only Georgians; they are Americans. If Georgia cannot or will not protect their lives and their rights, then the United States will have to do so.

✶

IN ASSUMING RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE loyalty of Dr. Frank P. Graham, the Atomic Energy Commission is taking less than no chance at all. To the broadcast pain of Fulton Lewis, Jr., the commission unanimously overruled its own security advisory board by giving Dr. Graham access to confidential files in his capacity as president of the Oak Ridge Institute of Nuclear Studies. It is easy to see how the security board, in the timeless fashion of such bodies, may have come to its fatuous decision. In his career as a genuinely distinguished liberal, Dr. Graham unquestionably belonged to organizations which were also joined, for their own purposes, by Communists. Applying the dangerous doctrine of guilt by association, the watch dogs gave a priority to suspicion and found against him. The case of Dr. Graham, better than any we know of, shows how deep this disease of heresy-hunting has bitten into American public life. Against the fact that he may have shared membership with Communists in organizations of perfectly laudable purpose is the truth that at no time in his life was he even faintly in sympathy with communism or any other totalitarian political movement. He publicly opposed the Russian invasion of Finland and the Communist coup in Czechoslovakia; he was for aid to Britain during the period of the Russian-German pact and belonged to the "war-mongering" William Allen White Committee. All in all, we share the flat conviction of President Truman, who, while he cannot be quoted, told the press simply that if there was any objection to Dr. Graham, it was wrong.

✶

THE FIGHT TO LIFT THE BAN IMPOSED ON this magazine by the Board of Superintendents of New York City enters its final round next Monday, when the case against censorship will be presented to the State Commissioner of Education at Albany. Proof that this is not solely *The Nation's* fight is furnished by the briefs submitted: one by our attorneys and two others, *amicus curiae*, by Archibald MacLeish for the Ad Hoc Committee to lift the ban, and by the American Civil Liberties Union. Commissioner Spaulding, as he writes his ruling, must consider how profound may be the effect of any order he hands down. For as Freda Kirchwey said at the outset of the controversy (*Nation*, July 3, 1948), "in education, as in questions of civil rights, New York has

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set a standard for the country. There is no question whatever that arbitrary censorship such as this, if it is not reversed, will be promptly initiated in other cities, for intolerance is as contagious as decency." If the Commissioner, with firm, precise language establishes the principle that reading lists shall never be anything more than advisory, it will be a great victory for the "freedom to think and learn and speak even at the risk of offending some special interest"; and *The Nation* must soon go back on the shelves of the New York City public-school libraries. When it does, it will lead the way, we are sure, for the restoration of the several worthwhile books that, as Marguerite Young has revealed in an excellent series of articles in the New York *Herald Tribune*, are now also excluded from the city's schools. Such a triumph for freedom of the press will go far to call a halt to a censorship which, in the words of the Ad Hoc Committee, "impoverishes human life and warps the human mind in an increasing and progressive sickness."

✶

OUR RESPECTED CATHOLIC CONTEMPORARY, the *Commonweal*, has prepared an interesting survey of the voting record of Catholics in the Eightieth Congress. The purpose is to refute the alleged contention of "pseudo-liberals" that the Roman Catholic Church is "a reactionary force in the United States." Taking the *New Republic* compilation as a criterion, Dale Francis, the author of the survey, comes up with some impressive statistics. Where 33 per cent of the Senate as a whole voted liberal by *New Republic* standards—and by our own—Catholic Senators achieved a score of 71 per cent. And in the House, the percentages of liberalism were 34 for the chamber as a whole and 71 for the Catholic Representatives. Without in the least minimizing Mr. Francis's figures, it might be pointed out that of the 56 legislators cited in the list, 46 are Democrats—only 8 of them from the South—and one, Vito Marcantonio, is a member of the American Labor Party. Taking into account party regularity and sectional considerations, it might have been more logical to compare their records with those of other Northern and Western Democrats rather than Congress as a whole. Nevertheless, the record is indisputably good from a liberal point of view, and the group includes men of whom we have always thought highly—Wagner, McMahon, Murray, Myers, McGrath, and O'Mahoney in the Senate, and in the House more than we can name here. Altogether, there is only one thing we fail to understand about Mr. Francis's article, and that is what bearing his figures have on the argument of "psuedo-liberals" that the Catholic hierarchy is essentially a force for reaction. Certainly the princes of the Roman church pretend no love for liberalism, as Bishop Oxnam demonstrated in the last issue of *The Nation*, citing their own catechism to prove it. To us, it has always been a matter of relief rather than doubt that thousands of Catholics take their spiritual guidance from the church and look elsewhere for their politics.

✶

TWICE DEAD BUT NEVER BURIED, THE Taft-Ellender-Wagner (né Wagner-Ellender-Taft) general housing bill has now been reintroduced in Congress as the Ellender-Wagner-Maybank-Sparkman-Myers-Hill-Long bill. In view of the events of November 2, it is not unfitting for so many to want to get into the act, but the Democrats' proposal, unfortunately, falls considerably short of what followers of President Truman's campaign speeches had been led to expect. It would appear that the golden opportunity to provide America with a truly satisfactory housing bill has not yet been fully exploited. We are told that the bill was drawn up by experts from the Federal Housing Administration, an agency whose limited and conservative vision was described in our issue of January 1 by Alfred Steinberg. Mr. Truman might far better have directed the bill's sponsors to seek guidance from the officers of the National Public Housing Conference, the organization upon which he himself relied for advice all through his campaign. At that, the President is said to have revised the draft bill to provide for 1,000,050 public-housing units (in the next seven years) rather than the 500,000 units recommended by FHA. While the measure thus became, in one respect, a far better one than T-E-W, it does not, in its present form, effectually encourage housing for America's three million middle-income families. This job, indeed, is largely left in the pending legislation to the same FHA, which could not—even if it would—establish loans at low enough interest rates and for long enough amortization periods to spur middle-income home construction. Already, the Republicans are

Next Week in "The Nation"

Chiang's Last Days

By ANDREW ROTH

President Truman's Inauguration

As Viewed by THOMAS SANCTON

And ARTHUR GARFIELD HAYS, in the first article of a new series on civil rights, attacks the theory of "full disclosure" of membership in "subversive" organizations.

Coming Soon

A reply to MR. HAYS by JAMES LAWRENCE FLY.

The Trial of the Twelve Communists

An Eyewitness Report by ROBERT BENDINER

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seizing on these and other shortcomings in the bill to embarrass its sponsors and the President; they are advancing legislation that boosts middle-income housing but cuts the Democrats' public-housing figure in half. The Democrats would serve their own and the nation's interest by repairing the damage with their own amendments while preserving the provision for 1,000,050 units of public housing. And they had better do it before the Republicans take the play away from them.

Grass Roots Under Glass

THIRTY DOLLARS will buy you forty dozen eggs, at least four reasonably good shirts, and two nights at the Statler Hotel of your choice—or it will get you a single copy of a new magazine called *Nation's Heritage*. If you are economy-minded, you can get a year's subscription to this bi-monthly for only $150 (with *The Nation*, $155.50). *Nation's Heritage*, as its creators point out, weighs nearly seven pounds, which means that for $4.28 you get, in the first issue, a half-pound of conventional art, a quarter-pound of quaint engravings out of the American past, and a quarter-pound of miscellany, including some fine photographs of ski-jumpers, a pictorial layout of Princeton University, and a graphic survey of the oil industry à la *Fortune*. The whole package is on luxuriously heavy paper, with a Grant Wood painting lithographed all over the stiff linen covers.

The purpose of this awesome journal is "to convey in a dramatic, graphic way a wider knowledge of all the elements which have made and make our nation," and Malcolm Forbes, its publisher, talks hopefully of developing a "grass-roots interest." To do him justice, Mr. Forbes realizes that the price decrees for his product "a limited market." He does not envision candy butchers going through railway coaches chanting, "*Nation's Heritage*, folks, thirty dollars; none sold after the train leaves the station." He does hope, however, to sell it to schools, libraries, Y. M. C. A.'s, hospitals, and corporation waiting-rooms, where "hundreds can 'visit' this magazine as they did the Freedom Train."

Our own experience has been that schools, libraries, hospitals, and Y. M. C. A.'s suffer chronically from budget trouble, and many of them plead convincingly for free subscriptions even to such modest products as our own. Not surprisingly, the list of "typical charter subscribers" to *Nation's Heritage* shows 10 public libraries, 18 advertising agencies and public-relations firms, and some 200 big corporations, not counting, of all things, the Detroit Tigers. To right the balance, the publisher hopes to induce the business corporations not only to sign up for themselves but to donate subscriptions to various institutions as a public service. In launching the project, Mr. Forbes assured a group of fellow-journalists that his publication would not offer "what might be called an N. A. M. version of America," and it might be said in passing that the first issue reflects at least a fine spirit of interracial good-will. But in view of this plan for distribution, it is apparent that the "grass-roots" Americans will have to have their heritage funneled through Remington-Rand, Inc., Anheuser-Busch, and other such common carriers of culture.

Congratulatory messages have been pouring in to the offices of the new publication, the sources ranging from the president of the New York Curb Exchange to Drew Pearson. But our favorite tribute, the one that seems to reflect the real circulation potential of the magazine, is from General Foods. "*Nation's Heritage,*" writes the chairman of the board, "has certainly challenged the imagination of several of us."

Mr. Bevin Goes Too Far

BY FREDA KIRCHWEY

THE efforts of the British government to throw political and military monkey wrenches into the Israeli-Arab negotiations have gone too far. A strong reaction has set in. Washington is seriously incensed at Mr. Bevin's provocative acts and has said so plainly; Bevin is at odds with Liberals and Conservatives and with important elements in his own party. At Rhodes, the armistice talks with Egypt continue under United Nations auspices while, at the same time, Jewish representatives are discussing terms independently with Lebanon and Transjordan.

Egypt knows that if Bevin had his way the whole Negev would go to Transjordan to be used by the British as a huge base of operations on Egypt's doorstep. Defeated by Israel but irreconcilably opposed to the expansion of Abdullah's kingdom and of British power, Egypt has accepted the alternative of leaning on U. N. authority and seeking a direct deal with the Israelis.

The same factors apply to Lebanon. Christian Lebanese, whether they dare admit it openly or not, know very well that they will be better able to fend off the always-threatening encroachments of Moslem power if they have a strong Israel across the border; while Lebanon as a whole, Christian and Moslem, is constantly in dread of an extension of Abdullah's jurisdiction to take in Arab Palestine, Syria, Lebanon, and Iraq—the old Greater Syria plan, by no means abandoned either by Abdullah himself or by his British patrons.

None of this means that Egypt or Lebanon as a whole welcomes Israel as neighbor. It merely means that both have at last discovered the choice is not between an independent Arab Palestine or a Jewish state. They will have

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the Jewish state in any case; so the choice today is between a settlement with Israel, which at least will not weaken them vis-à-vis their chief Arab rival, and a greatly expanded Transjordan effectively ruled by Britain. Why should the Egyptians, for example, go on fighting in the Negev to give that area to Abdullah in case, by some unforeseen miracle, they should drive back the Israelis? The British, of course, deny that they want continued fighting; they want the Israelis to fall back, as directed by the resolution of November 4, to the lines held before the autumn campaign, and then to negotiate a deal based on the status quo ante Bernadotte re-

NAZI PRISONERS IN EGYPT'S ARMY

A French Intelligence Report

How far the British may have gone in their last-minute attempt to strengthen the Arab invaders of Palestine is indicated by the document published below. This report by the French Intelligence service, which came to us from an absolutely trustworthy source, has been submitted by the Nation Associates to the Secretary General of the United Nations, with a request that the facts be promptly looked into and appropriate action taken. If Britain permitted the use of Nazi prisoners of war in Egypt's forces fighting against Israel, it was not only a violation of international law but a major scandal as well. If Britain transported Nazi officers from Germany to Lebanon to command such troops, the offense was even more serious. It is essential that the disclosures made in this document be examined by U.N. authorities in Egypt and Lebanon and the truth published without delay. We urge that our government press for such action.

December 8

IT IS reported from Beirut that a vast reorganization of the Arab armies, which recently suffered severe losses in Palestine, is now taking place. In accordance with a recent decision of the High Committee of the Arab League, an extensive recruitment of foreigners is under way.

Chiefly German soldiers are being recruited, with the help of the British authorities. The recruitment has gone through two stages; first, privates were taken, and then officers.

The first operation took place in Egypt, where there are still more than 11,000 former prisoners from Rommel's army. The British military authorities, who control these men, have permitted the Egyptians to undertake an extensive recruitment in the German camps, promising each volunteer one hundred pounds and to set him up in Egypt at the end of the Palestine campaign.

The call for volunteers brought most satisfying results, particularly when the former prisoners learned that they would be commanded by German officers.

Up to the present, 6,000 Germans have been recruited. They are grouped in two special brigades, A and B, each consisting of three infantry battalions equipped with heavy arms, including anti-tank and anti-aircraft units, as well as three batteries of 88-mm. cannon. All their equipment is German in origin, representing salvage from Rommel's army.

Officers of the lower ranks have been recruited from among internees in Egypt, the Levant, and Iraq, and from among the crews of German merchant ships seized during hostilities. They number about 500.

The recruitment of generals has been undertaken exclusively in the British zone of Germany.

The following generals are already to be found on the Arab military staffs:

SS Gruppenführer (Brigadier General) Dirlwanger is now with the Iraqi-Transjordanian High Command in Palestine. This general is on several lists of war criminals. During the war, Dirlwanger commanded a division of the SS specially charged with the suppression of resistance movements in Poland and the U. S. S. R.

SS Obergruppenführer (Major General) Wolff is attached to the Syrian staff as military adviser. Wolff commanded a Panzer division on the Western front.

SS Gruppenführer (Brigadier General) Katschmann, commander, during the war, of a division of the special police of the Governor General of Poland, specialist in the extermination of Jews, is now in Beirut.

SS Standartenführer (Colonel) Bizanz is now at Bagdad. During the war, he commanded a brigade of the Galizien SS Division made up of Ukrainians and used as guards in the extermination camps.

In addition, two Arab officers who served in the Moslem Legion of Hitler during the war now occupy high army posts. They are: Prince Mancour Daoud, a former lieutenant colonel of the Moslem Legion, who is now a commander of an Iraqi division. Colonel Suleiman Bey, brother-in-law of the former Iraqi Foreign Minister, Raschid Ali, fled to Germany after the unsuccessful 1941 coup d'etat. He commanded, as an SS Sturmführer, a battalion of the Moslem Legion. He is now in command of an Iraqi brigade.

All these officers arrived in Beirut aboard British military airplanes. Their arrival in the Lebanese capital has been affirmed by special Western and Russian services.

According to the most reliable sources, a new group of high German officers is expected momentarily at Damascus.

The two special German brigades are now training in the region of Marsa-Matruh and Sollum. They are attached to the reserve forces and their use is envisaged in the case of a further deterioration of affairs in Palestine.

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port. But even this idea no longer interests Egypt, which wants peace, not more land for British installations.

Transjordan, too, is ready for a settlement. Though Abdullah is the one ruler who might gain from Britain's maneuvers, if they succeed, he dare not stand aside while Israel negotiates with his neighbors. Least of all can he allow Farouk to make a separate deal on the Negev.

It is considerations such as these that keep the talks alive while Bevin maintains his indefensible position in the face of rising resentment. Before this issue appears, his policy will have had a thorough going over in the House. Whatever the outcome of the debate, however, the Foreign Minister has already forfeited so much important political support that a retreat would seem almost inevitable. Only if he should succeed in convincing Parliament and the people of the preposterous theory that Israel represents a Soviet outpost in the Middle East could he hope to win backing for his policy.

Again, as always, America's attitude will largely determine the outcome. At this moment, the United States wants a settlement in Palestine and is opposed to threats and tricks that may postpone one. Washington has only to be firm and throw its weight behind the negotiations at Rhodes to offset the effect of Britain's counter-moves. The Administration should also waste no time about finding a substitute for Joseph B. Keenan, who has withdrawn as American member of the U. N. Conciliation Commission. Delay in getting the commission organized and functioning only plays into the hands of those interested in prolonging uncertainty. If Mr. Truman would promptly choose an outstanding personality to represent the American position, a person as eminent as Frank P. Graham or Eleanor Roosevelt, he would serve notice on Mr. Bevin that, whatever its earlier hesitations, this country today wants peace and a decent settlement in Palestine.

A CORRECTION

Two weeks ago, in discussing the death of Laurence Duggan, *The Nation* referred editorially to Isaac Don Levine, editor of *Plain Talk*, as an ex-Communist informer.

We apologize to Mr. Levine and our readers for a careless mistake. Mr. Levine was never a Communist. We also learn that his testimony before the Un-American Activities Committee, mentioning Mr. Duggan, was given under oath at an executive session and was published without his prior knowledge or consent.

Guns and a Little Butter

BY THOMAS SANCTON

Washington, January 16

THE $42,000,000,000 budget submitted to Congress by the President last week is a massive technical document which is superior in many respects to the three previous post-war budgets. It will probably stand up in the Eighty-first Congress under any analysis or challenge that keeps within the framework of the cold war's dominant military rationalizations. Expenditures for the armed services have been held to a size generally considered safe but adequate. Sums for the domestic social programs on which the President campaigned have been increased. The total is manageable at the present rate of national income and production, and increased taxes will minimize the inflationary effects of government spending. Yet it is a budget which politicians and economists of the 1930's would have found incomprehensible, and it demonstrates conclusively the limited validity of comparisons between the Fair Deal and the New Deal.

The obvious similarities only provide further evidence of the recent enormous growth of militarism. No very great disparity appears, for example, in the budgeted costs of the social-security programs of the two periods. Many of the largest New Deal programs were financed for $100,000,000 or $200,000,000. Wherever President Truman's message deals with sums of this order, the reference is usually to domestic legislation, and even lumped together, the "Fair Deal" increases seldom hit the billion mark. It is chiefly in the sections relating to military costs that we meet the billion-dollar figure.

Seventy-six cents of every federal dollar spent in the fiscal year 1950 will be used for costs arising from the last war, for foreign programs directly related to the cold war, and for maintenance of our military establishment. Six cents will go for the health and security programs; five cents for preservation and development of natural resources; thirteen cents for the support of government agencies and functions. And military expenditures are even heavier than this breakdown indicates. One would think that "development of natural resources" meant activities like flood control and soil reclamation, but $725,000,000 of the $1,861,000,000 requested for this purpose is earmarked for the Atomic Energy Commission. Recent statements of the commission's chairman indicate, moreover, that research is still centered on the development of fissionable materials rather than on processes of maximum peace-time value.

The newspapers of the country, in their editorial pages, have swallowed the military items of the budget at a gulp but are gagging on the smaller sums assigned

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to social welfare. The Washington *News*, for example, decides that the "budget would push spending beyond safe limits"—making it clear that the reference is to non-military spending.

IN POINT of fact the social programs will come closest to paying for themselves. The budget makes the following three recommendations, which seem very generous: (1) the extension of social security to 25,000,000 gainfully employed who are not covered by the present law, and an increase in benefit payments; (2) creation of disability insurance; (3) a compulsory national health-insurance program. To pay for these benefits an additional $2,000,000,000, unrelated to the other tax increases requested, will be collected directly from the beneficiaries and their employers by an increase of three-fourths of 1 per cent in the social-security tax. The present rate of 2 per cent has remained stationary since it was first levied, though original legislation provided for an increase years ago. In theory and in practice not even the individual employer fills the role of Santa Claus in this transaction, for the improvement in the morale, health, and efficiency of his work force, imperceptible though it may be in specific cases, pays him dividends.

The $290,000,000 for education will be an outright subsidy. But this money will be disbursed to the states and will retard the terrible waste of human resources going on in some of them. While many states in the deep South spend more for education, in proportion to their total income, than any others in the nation, their school systems are inadequate, and both the states and the nation pay the cost in many ways. Compared with various individual items in the armed services' budgets this sum is inconsequential. Were not the entire budget a monument to the destructive ends toward which all nations are turned in this era, the meagerness of the education program would be more apparent.

The budget asks $100,000,000 a year for five years for slum clearance, and a first-year appropriation of $129,000,000 to launch a low-rent housing program intended to produce a million public-housing units in seven years. This program doubles the goals envisioned in the Taft-Ellender-Wagner act, and in so doing provides concrete evidence, as does the entire domestic program, of what ordinary citizens have gained by electing Truman rather than his Republican opponent. Yet the goals set remain far below national needs, as most public-housing groups not identified with the real-estate lobby agree. And when all of these units are provided, several million low-income citizens, many of them veterans, will still be looking for homes that they can buy for less than the $15,000 or $20,000 that the building industry has set as its minimum.

When one comes to the military items in the budget, these social programs fade into insignificance in fiscal terms. Actual defense expenditures are summarized as $14,268,000,000, well within the fifteen-billion-dollar ceiling fixed and resolutely defended by the President in the face of great pressure from the military and from industry. But there is a vagueness in the bookkeeping here that defeats the average understanding. Altogether, the budget asks for $13,200,000,000 in new military appropriations, plus $2,100,000,000 in cash to pay for defense contracts authorized by previous Congresses, plus authority to negotiate new contracts amounting to $2,700,000,000, for which future budgets will provide the actual cash. Cash and credits asked from the present Congress therefore total $18,000,000,000. Actually, of course, it will not be difficult to track these items down to their final nesting place in the 1949, 1950, and 1951 budgets. Yet a medical-insurance or education appropriation could get lost in these carry-over military "extras."

The European Recovery Program will cost $4,500,000,000 in 1950, a decrease of $100,000,000 from the current year; but requests for foreign-relief financing reach a total of $6,349,000,000. Interest on the public debt, four-fifths of which represents deficit financing for the last war, will cost $5,450,000,000. Veterans' benefits and services are estimated at $5,500,000,000. This is a decline of $1,300,000,000 from the current year, the largest reduction in the budget. It is due to the fact that a large number of veterans have exhausted their "fifty-two-twenty" unemployment pay. But economies have also been effected by the cancelation of twenty-four building projects for a projected system of regional hospitals and a reduction in the capacity of fourteen others.

The fact that a certain social-security program may largely pay for itself does not of course disqualify a defense appropriation, which once spent is gone forever. Legitimate expenditures for social security and defense are actually incommensurable in financial terms, though in their highest sense they are directed toward the same goal, the safety and preservation of the nation. But it shows blindness on the part of many powerful conservative elements to argue against this concept. Such critics, who grasp recklessly for the billions that will profit them in the narrowest sense but vehemently oppose sound social legislation, are ultimately the wreckers of their society and unconscious agents of the foreign enemy they fear. The nature of Mr. Truman's campaign and the firm limits he has set to spending of the worst sort assure us that the budget which has emerged under his direction is the best that the President was able to produce under existing circumstances. It is obvious that the irresponsible men who form at least one element in high military and industrial circles have not been without influence on what this nation will spend in 1950 for

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arms and for man. Ex-President Hoover himself has attested that one group in the Pentagon had such an "unrealistic" understanding of the economic and social structure of the nation that it sought originally a thirty-billion-dollar appropriation for defense instead of the half that sum ultimately budgeted. How can such men be entrusted with any grave decisions bearing on national welfare? What validity can their opinion have on the need for social programs, which inherently they detest, and which they obstruct at every opportunity?

Twilight of Caribbean Imperialism

BY PAUL BLANSHARD

San Juan, Puerto Rico, January 9

THE lifted hand of Luis Muñoz Marín, when he took the oath as Puerto Rico's first elected governor, marked the end of an era. His inauguration was an event not only for the people of the United States and the people of Puerto Rico but for the four million "colonials" who live in this area under British, French, and Dutch flags. As Puerto Rico goes, so goes the Caribbean. That generalization may be too simple and hopeful for so complex and tragic a situation, but it contains a core of probability. American foreign policy tends to set the pace in this troubled region not only because America's military and economic strength is supreme but because American democracy has won new respect from native peoples in recent years. As we retreat from the crude aggressiveness and fumbling paternalism which characterized our Caribbean policy from Theodore Roosevelt to Hoover, the surviving outposts of European imperialism in this area are placed more and more on the defensive.

The anomaly of the present "colonial" situation in the Caribbean is well illustrated by one fact about this colorful inauguration. Among the great throng of enthusiastic *jibaros*, factory workers, politicians, mainland bankers, and federal bureaucrats who made this celebration one of the most festive events of Puerto Rican history, there walked five political leaders from the British Caribbean colonies, ranging in color from light brown to deep black, all representing progressive political movements in their own territories. Muñoz did not invite a single governor from a British, French, or Dutch island in the area to his inauguration, but he brought these five leaders of the people to the celebration as guests of the Puerto Rican government. His gesture dramatically emphasized the new day in the Caribbean.

Only a few traces of colonialism persist in our dealings with the island's people, and on the whole mutual respect and mutual decency mark the relationship. In the fifty years of American guardianship we have committed many sins, but we have gradually lifted the Puerto Rican people to full citizenship in war and peace, and we have given them the highest standard of living in the whole Caribbean. Financially they have benefited in many ways, such as the remission of excise taxes on rum, which even mainland citizens cannot claim.

On the political side very few vestiges of American imperial power will be carried over into the Muñoz era. The Puerto Rican people not only elect their own governor and all members of their island legislature by universal suffrage under the new dispensation but control every Cabinet position except that of auditor. The same law which gave them the right to elect Muñoz Marín also transferred the appointment of the Commissioner of Education and the Attorney General from Washington to San Juan. It is true that the President of the United States still has veto power over certain types of legislation, and that judges of the highest court of Puerto Rico are still chosen and confirmed in Washington—in spite of President Truman's recommendation to the contrary. It is true also that conscription still applies to Puerto Ricans as to all other Americans. But these remnants of mainland control have lost their sting owing to the basic fact that the Puerto Rican people can have complete independence at any time they unmistakably want it. A plebiscite on the island's ultimate political status has been recommended by President Truman, and undoubtedly it will be granted at some future time.

When that plebiscite is held, I do not believe that the Puerto Rican people will vote to sever the American connection. Muñoz himself favors its continuation in some form, and he won 60 per cent of the total vote; the Independistas won only 10 per cent; the revolutionary Nationalist Party of Albizu Campos was so weak that it did not dare to risk an electoral test, and its followers were instructed to stay away from the polls as a "protest."

Meanwhile, one of the great causes of American-Puerto Rican friction is being removed through the official adoption of the Spanish language as the language of the schools. For years American policy on this subject has been a farce. The law has required part-time teaching of basic subjects in the English language in the lower grades and of *all* subjects in high school. In practice the law has been almost universally violated.

Now, under Muñoz Marín, a Commissioner of Edu-

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cation has assumed office who is committed to the people's language as the language of instruction in the schools. He is the same distinguished educator, Dr. Mariano Villaronga, who was named for this post some time ago and whose name was withdrawn because the appointment faced such determined opposition in the United States Senate over the language issue. Villaronga, of course, favors the teaching of English in the schools, as a *subject;* he is against its use as the primary medium of instruction. He believes that the attempt to teach elementary-school children in a language that is for them a foreign tongue has only "brought discouragement with the whole learning process."

With the language difficulties cleared up, the two most serious problems confronting the new governor are economic and social rather than political. Can the administration attract more American capital to the island without surrendering the Popular Party's fundamental thesis of social control? Muñoz Marín is optimistic, and his government is undertaking a gigantic advertising campaign to sell Puerto Rico to mainland investors. Low-priced labor and tax exemption are two conspicuous baits.

If the appeal to mainland investors seems a little disturbing to American liberals, it should be remembered that this island has all the legislative safeguards of the New Deal, including a minimum wage, social security, and collective bargaining. Muñoz is not likely to forget that he has risen to power largely with the aid of organized labor, and it is inconceivable that he should permit Puerto Rico to slip back into sweatshop conditions. The Popular Party still believes in and practices the socialization of power and transportation. The Puerto Rico Development Company and the Government Development Bank are outstanding features of its economic policy. Its program for buying up the great sugar estates and operating them as community projects is working smoothly and has a good production record. If more American capital comes to this island, as I hope it will, it will find self-respecting cooperation but no inclination to surrender a progressive political program.

The outlook on birth control is not so clear. Although Puerto Rican Catholicism is weak both culturally and politically, a reluctance to challenge the church openly is noticeable among the island's political leaders. An adequate law permitting birth-control clinics has been on the statute books for a long time, but there seems little disposition to carry out a vigorous program of popular education. It is argued that improved economic conditions will create a demand for family limitation. Meanwhile, Puerto Rico's rate of natural increase has shot up to the highest in the world, and its density of 635 persons per square mile is greater than that of Java. Almost all the social gains of the last fifty years would have been wiped out by overpopulation if the island had not had the vent of emigration to the states.

Puerto Rico's independence movement has had no echo in our Virgin Islands. The overwhelmingly Negro Virgin Islanders like the American connection, and their loyalty is evidence of our improved racial policy in these parts. When they had the opportunity recently to vote for a law giving them the right to elect their own governor, they turned down the proposal almost three to one, in spite of the fact that the new law was favored by Governor Hastie. But the significance of this vote can easily be overemphasized, for the issue of the popular election of a governor was confused by a local party struggle. My personal hope is that the Virgin Islanders will continue to accept an appointed governor. When a community of 25,000 people, split by forty miles of water, tries to choose its own governor, it is more likely to find a provincial alderman than a Hastie.

IMPERIALISM is retreating very rapidly in the British islands. Before the war less than 6 per cent of Britain's Caribbean subjects could vote, and reactionary colonial governors were assuring the world that the people were satisfied with disfranchisement. Now the whole drift in the British territories is toward complete democracy as soon as it can be adequately organized. Jamaica has elected its lower house by universal suffrage for almost five years and hopes to get a responsible ministry next year. A new Trinidad commission is asking for, and will undoubtedly get, universal suffrage in at least a majority of legislative districts. In Barbados, although the franchise is still somewhat limited, extensive executive powers have been granted to the representatives of the dominant Labor Party, and G. H. Adams, the leader of that party, recently attended the United Nations session at Paris as the first colonial citizen to represent the home country directly in an international capacity. Even small and backward British Honduras is confidently expecting universal suffrage soon and a majority of elected members in its legislature.

For more than two years, in official and unofficial conferences, the British leaders in the Caribbean have been planning a Caribbean British Commonwealth that might unite all British dependencies in the area under a federal legislature with limited powers and an appointed governor general. At this writing it seems quite likely that the new commonwealth will be born within a few months. There is no doubt that the majority of the people involved want federation in principle, and the Colonial Office is pushing the idea vigorously. But it is difficult to agree on a definite plan for the distribution of authority in an area which is so varied in geography and racial composition. Many of the islands are so isolated that their people are suspicious of any outside authority. Some of them prefer rule from London to rule from Trinidad, Jamaica, or Grenada. In Trinidad the large

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East Indian population is so fearful of Negro rule that a delegation of East Indians actually petitioned the British government recently to withhold universal suffrage.

The most important single obstacle to successful federation is the fact that Britain's chief colony in the area, Jamaica, is partly governed by a comic-opera chieftain, Alexander Bustamante, who has rejected federation as a "conception of the worst sort." This ex-waiter and money lender whose real name is Clarke, and who, although born in Jamaica, passed himself off in New York for years as a Spanish-born white, has done much to discredit self-government during his five years as leader of Jamaica's dominant political party. Reactionary forces on the island are still backing him solidly and swallowing his demagogic utterances, and he may score another victory in the next election. He recently returned from a trip to interview "my King" in England, where he distributed free Jamaica bananas to East London's poor. Perhaps the most unfortunate feature of Bustamante's rule is that he is temporarily preventing the rise to power of the British Caribbean's ablest leader, Norman W. Manley, head of the People's National Party of Jamaica, and a potential Muñoz Marín of the British Caribbean Commonwealth.

In the whole Caribbean colonial scene only Dutch political policy is still lagging. In the French islands, where the Communist Party is very strong, social discontent is intense, but there is no longer any issue of self-government. France, since the war, has made its Caribbean subjects full citizens of a department of the French Republic. The Dutch are increasing the elected members in island legislatures, but they are still far behind American, French, and British policies.

ALTHOUGH imperialism is on its way out in the Caribbean, there is not as yet any good substitute for it. The regionalist philosophy of the international Caribbean Commission is still valid, but the commission's power does not extend to matters political. It would be pleasant and comforting to agree with the oversimplified generalizations of the Latin American orators at the Bogotá conference who demanded the abolition forthwith of all European power in the Western Hemisphere. But what would these tiny, impoverished islands do if they were suddenly cut out of their familiar orbits? Two years ago I suggested the integration of the whole Caribbean colonial structure into the Trusteeship Council of the United Nations, but that uneasy institution is now a battleground for the cold war, and its officials are too much distracted by other matters to pay much attention to the Caribbean. Until world government becomes a reality and offers a worthy place to these isolated peoples of the Caribbean, it may be best for them to stay within their present orbits and continue to ask for more help, more education, and more democracy from their guardians. Certainly that formula has done wonders for Puerto Rico, and it seems to be the "solution" which the people themselves want.

Technology Prods Big Steel

BY LEONARD ENGEL

PRESIDENT TRUMAN'S request for standby power to build new steel plants has called attention anew to the steel shortage which has gripped the United States since 1940. In the year just ended steel production totaled 88,000,000 tons; we could have used 25,000,000 tons more. The steel industry's producing capacity has grown since 1940, but not nearly fast enough. In fact, the deficiency is so great and steel mills take so long to build that even an extensive program of federal construction cannot overcome the shortage in less than several years. A number of new technological developments, however, can increase the production of existing plants and also help solve another urgent problem, the imminent exhaustion of our reserves of low-cost, high-quality iron ore.

LEONARD ENGEL writes frequently for The Nation *on new developments in science and technology.*

Ordinarily, major innovations in steel-making come at least a generation apart. Since the end of the war, though, as many as a dozen radically new procedures have made their appearance, affecting virtually every step in the complicated process by which iron ore is made into steel. Three which have attracted particular attention are blast-furnace pressurization, the use of oxygen in steel-making furnaces, and one-step casting of semi-finished billets.

Blast-furnace pressurization. Steel is made by an indirect process which begins with the reduction of iron ore to pig iron by a chemical reaction with limestone, air, and coke carried out in a blast furnace. During the past fifty years blast furnaces have grown to mammoth size, especially in the United States—some of our newer furnaces are thirty feet in diameter and ten stories high—but have otherwise changed little. A dozen years ago, however, a new York chemical engineer, Julian M. Avery, suggested that the efficiency and yield of the

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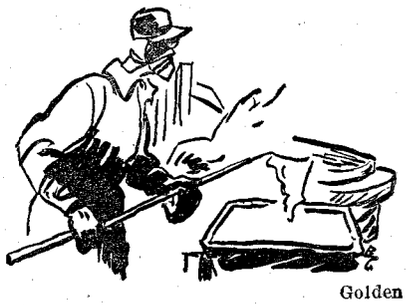
blast furnace might be greatly increased by the simple expedient of sealing the furnace and conducting the iron-making reaction under pressure. The first trial of Avery's idea took place in a government-owned furnace at the Republic Steel plant in Cleveland in 1944 and was cut short by mechanical difficulties. A second, after the war, was a resounding success. Pressure not only raised the output of iron a fifth but cut coke consumption 15 per cent and practically eliminated flue-dust losses—the blowing of unreduced ore out of the furnace by too strong an air blast—by which as much as a sixth of the ore charged into the furnace is sometimes wasted.

Pressurization is clearly the first real advance in blast-furnace design since the top of the furnace was closed in the 1880's to permit recapture and re-use of the hot, combustible furnace gases. It is being taken up by the industry with unusual rapidity. Republic Steel has already pressurized five furnaces and has ordered equipment for converting two more; Youngstown Sheet and Tube begins a pressurization program in January. For one thing, a blast furnace can be modified for pressure operation for as little as $100,000—roughly 1 per cent of the $10,000,000 required for a new furnace today. For another, the new process promises not only a sizable increase in production at small cost but substantial economies in blast-furnace operation if demand falls off. In these first installations the pressures used are comparatively low. Later, higher pressures will be possible, and iron output may be increased 40 per cent, or if a cut in production is desired, the saving of coke may be as large as 30 per cent. The great majority of the 234 blast furnaces in this country will almost certainly be converted to pressure within a decade.

Use of oxygen. As it leaves the blast furnace, pig iron contains a large percentage of carbon and other impurities, most of which must be burned out in order to produce the tough form of iron we know as steel. This is done in one of two types of furnace, the Bessemer converter or the open hearth. For a great many years steel men have known that the action of both the Bessemer converter and the open hearth is markedly accelerated by the use of pure oxygen instead of air. For example, the open hearth, which is the steel-making furnace most widely employed in the United States, completes more than three "heats" (batches of metal) a day on oxygen as against two and a half on air, a gain of better than 20 per cent.

Until recently the application of oxygen to steel-making was merely an interesting possibility; in the quantities required, the pure gas was prohibitively expensive. During the war, however, radical improvements in oxygen-production processes effected by German, Russian, and American engineers made low-cost tonnage oxygen at last a reality. One major plant, Weirton Steel at Weirton, West Virginia, already has all its open hearths using oxygen. Bethlehem Steel's Johnstown, Pennsylvania, works will go on oxygen in a few weeks. As fast as the necessary oxygen plants can be built, others will follow suit.

One-step billet casting. The greater part of the steel tapped from American open-hearth furnaces is rolled into sheets—for automobile bodies, cans, and so forth—or structural shapes, but at present steel does not go directly from the furnace to the rolling mill. Partly because billet machines have not been fast enough, partly because strength is thus added to the metal, the crude steel is first cast into huge ingots, which are given a heat treatment in underground furnaces ("soaking pits") and then reduced to billets of manageable size in a special oversize rolling mill, the blooming mill.



Golden

It looks as if this expensive semi-finishing process would soon be unnecessary, at least for some types of rolled-steel products. Republic Steel and Babcock and Wilcox, the boiler builders, have developed a "casting tower" which casts rolling-mill billets directly from molten steel as fast as it comes from the largest open-hearth furnaces. The casting tower is essentially a vertical pipe surrounded by a water jacket, with a cutting torch at the bottom. Molten steel poured in at the top cools and solidifies on the way down; as it emerges at the bottom, the now solid steel rod is automatically cut into billet lengths by the torch. Only one casting tower has actually been built—a small experimental unit at Beaver Falls, Pennsylvania. For larger ones serious water-supply problems as well as other formidable difficulties may arise. In addition, the casting tower product is not so strong as conventionally processed steel. One-step billet casting, however, has been shown to be practical and cheap, and the product is strong enough for many purposes.

THESE three new processes, like most of the other new developments in steel technology, are means of raising productive capacity without a large capital investment. Ever since 1940 the steel industry has been under pressure to enlarge its plant, first to fill war needs, then to meet the demands of our post-war economy and the Marshall Plan. But the industry has been conspicuously unwilling to expand owing to its fear that the demand for steel would not hold up well enough to justify the required expenditure: to build a new plant currently costs more than $300 an ingot ton of annual capacity, as compared with $30 to $50 a ton in the decade and a half before the First World War, when most existing

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mills were erected. The industry's policy makers have preferred to give attention to short cuts like the casting tower and to techniques for getting more out of existing facilities, like blast-furnace pressurization.

While new plants are urgently needed and should be built, the technical advances already achieved can raise the output of the steel industry from the present 88,000,000 tons a year to 100,000,000 or 110,000,000. For sustained full employment we need 120,000,000 tons of steel a year now and will need at least 130,000,000 tons in 1960, but nevertheless the gain made possible by improved methods is considerable and can be realized comparatively quickly. By pressurizing five furnaces, for example, Republic Steel gained the equivalent of a sixth furnace in a fraction of the time it would have taken to build a new one.

The United States, moreover, is entering a period of higher ore costs, and their effect on the price of steel, relative to other commodities, can be offset only by economies at other points in the steel-making process. For the past ninety years the steel industry, and with it the American economy, has had the advantage of a singular source of iron ore—the mountain district of northern Minnesota, where high-grade ore, ready for the blast furnace as it came from the ground, lay close enough to the surface for low-cost strip-mining and was adjacent to cheap water transportation. Exactly how much high-grade surface ore is left in Minnesota is in dispute; but whether it amounts to ten or twenty years' supply, the end of Minnesota's ready-to-use ores is in sight. In future, we shall have to look to other sources. We may use more deep-mined ore from the Lake Superior and Adirondack districts; we may beneficiate (concentrate artificially) the low-grade taconites still present in Minnesota in immense quantities; we may import ore from Brazil or the new field in Labrador. However the problem is solved, ore will cost more and so will finished steel—unless new developments reduce processing costs.

Current advances are also laying the technical basis for an even more significant development, a small-scale, decentralized steel industry. Until recently nearly all progress in steel technology tended to favor larger and larger units. The industry's greatest triumph was the continuous strip mill, a half-mile-long series of automatic machines able to roll out steel sheet at the staggering rate of more than a mile a minute—unthinkable except for $250,000,000 corporations. The casting tower, however, will work as well in a small plant as in a large. Another improvement, the side-blown Bessemer, promises to provide an economical small-scale means of converting pig iron into high-quality steel. Since quite efficient small-scale rolling mills and a useful substitute for the blast furnace—the electric pig furnace developed in Sweden—have existed for some time, the technical prerequisites of small-scale, decentralized steel production are at hand. Thus the impending revolution in steel technology will bring not only more and cheaper steel but a real opportunity to end Big Steel's monopoly and rebuild the industry around small independent producers who will really compete.

Cops and Robbers in Japan

BY WILLIAM COSTELLO

Tokyo, January 5

MY FRIEND Ikeda doesn't like cops. He considers them crooks. And on the subject of crooks Mr. Ikeda regards himself as something of an authority. Before the war he spent years dodging the police and matching wits with them. Now he makes a respectable living running a string of black-market restaurants, and he dislikes cops even more cordially than when he took his chances in the underworld.

"It's like this," says Ikeda-san. "I run my business in violation of the law—but I'm not the only one. Let's say I'm sitting in the kitchen of one of my restaurants. A cop on the beat pokes his nose in the back door, sees me and comes in. 'Nice day,' says the cop. 'Nice place you got here.' I say, 'Sit down and have a bottle of beer.' What else can I do? If he reports me, I'll be closed up and out of business. Sometimes I give him food and cigarettes.

"While the cop is sitting there, maybe one of these *furyo* or *yotamono* loafers passes by. He comes in, grins knowingly at the cop—and I have to feed him too. I spend a hundred thousand yen a month on food, liquor, and cigarettes for crooked cops and loafers.

"It wouldn't be so bad if it ended there—but it doesn't. Suppose a little street fight starts, and the cop on the beat runs up to stop it. He recognizes the hoodlums; so he walks right on by. If he arrests them, they'll tell about seeing him at my place. When the street gangs have that kind of immunity, it's easy for them to turn to more serious crime."

This story of Ikeda-san's is fully corroborated by his

WILLIAM COSTELLO is Far Eastern news director for the Columbia Broadcasting System. In coming issues he will discuss other aspects of the new Japan.

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friend Kozaki-san, who after twenty-five years as a big gambling boss now gets along comfortably as proprietor of a small inn.

"The police are no good; they're too weak," says Kozaki-san. "For instance, somebody will kick up a disturbance in an eating place, and the police are called in. Five or six cops with pistols on their hips arrive on the run. But we can't rely on them. They have a vague idea that civil rights must not be violated. So they stand there, hesitating to draw their weapons, and the next thing you know, they've been knocked around by the ruffians and kicked out.

"Even when the police want to do their duty, their hands are tied. I asked a cop why he didn't arrest some of the gangsters prowling around Tsukiji, Ginza, and Yurakucho. He answered: 'It's a waste of time. As soon as they're locked up, an *oyabun* (racket boss) walks in and gets them out.' The police captains and lieutenants at the precinct stations have all been paid off by the big *oyabun*, either in money or in banquets. If a gangster is arrested for tearing up a joint, the *oyabun* hears of it, and when he walks into the station, the chief says, 'So this is one of your men—well, we'll have to release him.' "

THERE has been vast conjecture since March 7 about the future of the new democratic police system. Most Japanese today are grateful for being rid of the *kempeitai* (thought police) who made their lives miserable under the old regime. They are glad to see law-enforcement officers reduced from pompous, sword-clanking autocrats to ordinary civil servants charged with preserving law and order. They welcome constitutional guaranties that their private lives will not be invaded without cause. Nevertheless, the public is aware that the transfer of authority from the Home Ministry to various public-safety commissions does not insure a change in police morality.

Probably the average citizen has never before been so safe from arbitrary invasion of his personal rights. Honest men can say what they please, read whatever books they like, and walk the streets without a constant feeling of surveillance. The worst and most oppressive features of the old police system, which included medieval torture methods, have been done away with. But it is plain that the new police force has not been imbued with a positive zeal for administering the law with impartial justice. In number it is about the same as the combined military and civilian police force which existed before the occupation. Indeed, critics like my friend Ikeda-san are quick to insist they are not asking for more police or fewer police. What they want is good police.

But to be good, a policeman must be well paid. There seems to be ample evidence that the low pay has brought about a serious deterioration in the caliber of the force. Early in 1948 the Tokyo Metropolitan Police Board, before becoming fully autonomous, recruited 2,698 men, of whom 1,800 had less than a middle-school education. In the previous year 10 per cent of the police candidates enrolled in Osaka prefecture were discharged because of moral unfitness. Most of those dismissed had intended to use their position for unlawful purposes; two of them admitted they applied because they understood "policemen could make a lot of money on the side." One asked for assignment to a certain precinct so that he could continue working with a black-market broker.

The shortcomings of the new police force have another cause in the training programs which have been set up. There is more than a suspicion that the disciplinary methods employed in the new police-training centers are no better than in pre-war army camps. The recruits, of course, would not dare utter a complaint, but a young woman who paid a visit this year to the training institute in Minato-ku registered a public protest. She said the atmosphere was exceedingly feudalistic and militaristic: trainees were not slapped but were constantly reprimanded without explanation. Their food is said to be so bad that a large proportion have to be hospitalized for malnutrition.

There have also been repeated complaints that the police lack suitable equipment. Pistols are provided for only one in five men, and almost none of those possessing pistols have had any training in their use. The police telephone system is antiquated and inadequate, and there is no radio communication worth mentioning. Cars and trucks are lacking to transport police quickly in emergencies.

On September 28, at the Seiko-en in Yugawara, there was an amazing gathering. Three hundred of the biggest gambling *oyabun* in the Kanto area were assembled to celebrate the inauguration of the House of Sumiyoshi, a pleasure palace in the Shibaura district of Tokyo. As a congratulatory gift to Yusaku Abe, owner of the house and Japan's leading gambler, they took up a collection of a million yen. Then they collected another 1,300,000 yen for an ante permitting them to take part in the gambling. The game went on continuously for thirty hours. Everyone played with stacks of hundred-yen notes. One pot contained more than 800,000 yen, and it was estimated that something like 60,000,000 yen changed hands during the party.

It was the silence of the Japanese police which permitted Abe and his cohorts to indulge in this expensive amusement. Worse than that, police venality permits the operation of some 200 gambling houses in Tokyo alone and protects the blood-sucking *yakuza* throughout the nation. The consequences are blackmail, extortion, robbery, and murder.

Ultimate responsibility lies with the national Diet, which appears to have deliberately sabotaged the police reforms by refusing adequate appropriations.

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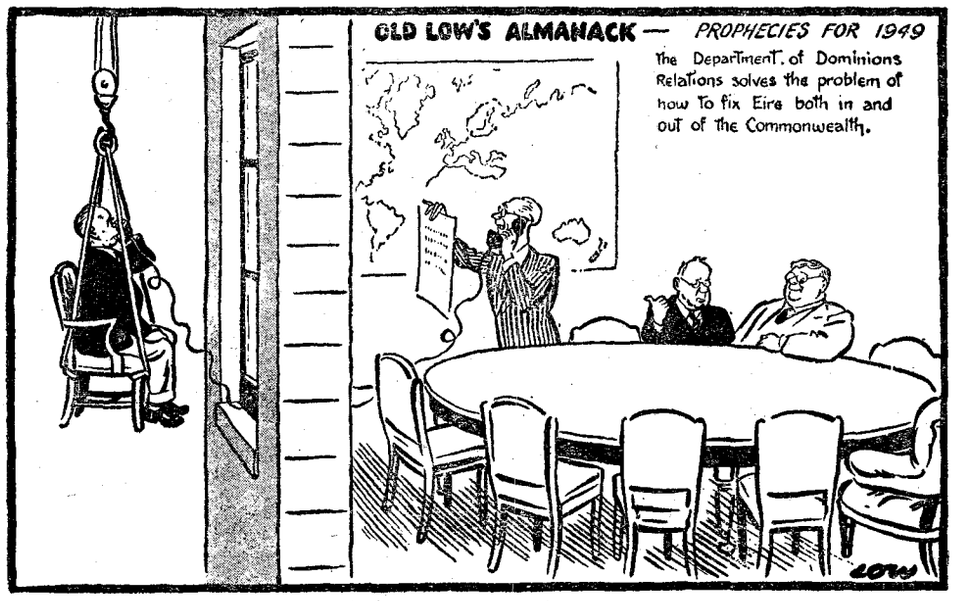
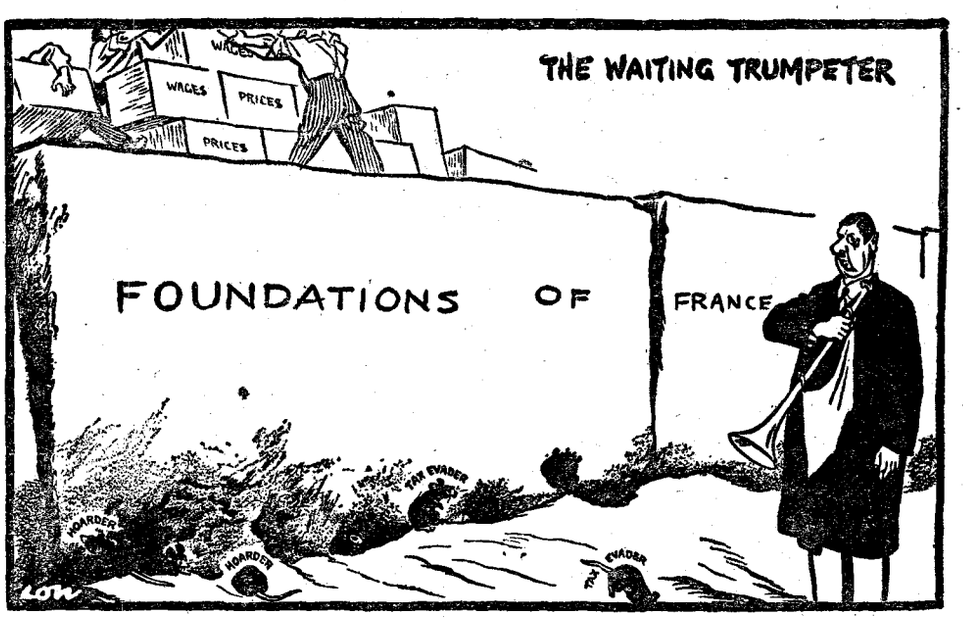
DAVID

A round-up of some rece famous British cartoonist. several Low cartoons each it chooses one for its c are some which we have but which we think our r joy. A large number of N have been collected in A Cartoon History," pu and Schuster. The ones this magazine are publi courtesy of the London


OLD LOW'S ALMANACK — PROPHECIES FOR 1949
The Department of Dominions Relations solves the problem of how to fix Eire both in and out of the Commonwealth.
LOW



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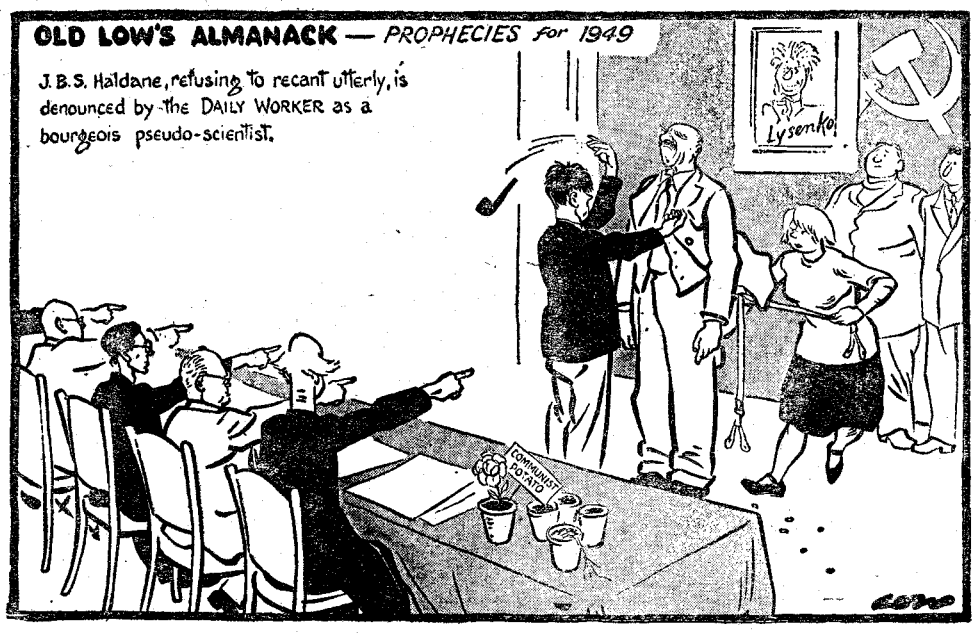
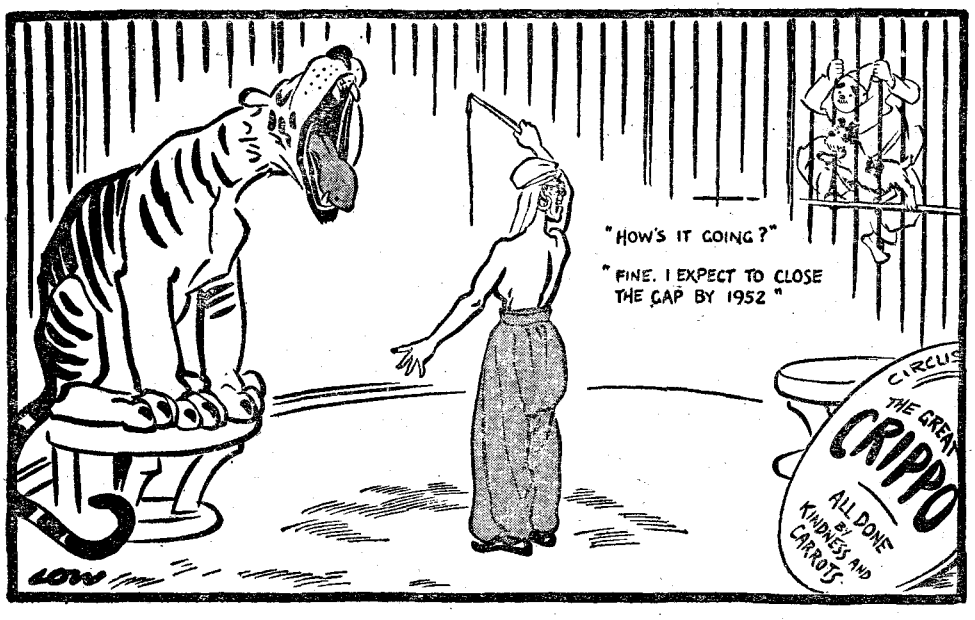
LOW

nt drawings by the The Nation *is sent week, from which rrent issue. These been unable to use eaders will still en- Mr. Low's drawings 'Years of Wrath: blished by Simon which appear in shed through the* Evening Standard.


OLD LOW'S ALMANACK — PROPHECIES for 1949
J.B.S. Haldane, refusing to recant utterly, is denounced by the DAILY WORKER as a bourgeois pseudo-scientist.
Lysenko
COMMUNIST POTATO
LOW



"GOOD MORNING, CLEM! CAN I INTEREST YOU IN A LINE OF CEMENT BAGS?"
GRAVE DEFENCE PROBLEMS
The goof who thinks we can fight Communism with anti-Socialism and arms alone
The simp who calls for lower taxes one day, more arms the next
Let's have our manpower at work but let's have it in training, too
LOW

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Del Vayo—The New International Morality

IT IS to be hoped that Philip C. Jessup's attack on the Netherlands in the Security Council, headlined in the American press as "the strongest ever made by the United States on a non-Russian country," will be followed by action consistent with the excellent argument of the American delegate. His statement called for (1) an end to Dutch military occupation of Republican territory; (2) free elections for an assembly to set up an Indonesian government; (3) progressive withdrawal of Dutch armies from the East Indies; (4) transfer of sovereignty from the Netherlands to the United States of Indonesia. So far the government of the Netherlands has not shown the slightest disposition to comply with any of these four demands.

In my opinion the most important question to raise about the whole Indonesian affair is, what expectations led the Netherlands to use open aggression to overthrow the Republic? The Dutch government would not have undertaken an adventure of such proportions if it had not counted on the benevolent reaction of at least one of the major Western powers. Contrary to initial indications it faces a long and difficult guerrilla war. On January 12 the Dutch confirmed reports of a heavy raid on Jogjakarta. Centers of armed resistance extend as far as western Sumatra and central and eastern Java, while centers of propaganda and support are to be found throughout the Asiatic continent. If anyone has doubts about the difficulty of liquidating a guerrilla force whose guiding principle is never to engage the enemy's superior army in a decisive battle but to wear it down by continuous minor actions, he should ask Americans in Athens.

But if the Netherlands is in an increasingly complicated military situation, the political situation is much more serious. This time it will be difficult for the Dutch propaganda services to dismiss all support that the rebels receive from abroad as originating in Moscow. There, new "Musos" may be awaiting their hour, men who like the leader of the ill-fated Communist revolt last fall see in a radical change of regime the only guaranty of independence. But acting more directly than any propaganda from outside is the internal situation produced by the Dutch attack. From undesirable plotters the Communists, in the eyes of the moderate Republican government, have been transformed into at least temporary allies. Twenty thousand Communists, who according to half-official reports filled the republic's jails, have been hurriedly released. This always happens in a struggle for liberation. And once the Communists are accepted, they are sure to become a focus of the Resistance, as they were in every country of Europe. No diabolical intervention from Moscow was required to produce the present situation in Indonesia. The Dutch created it very efficiently.

The most serious external threat to the Dutch course in Indonesia comes not from Moscow but from Asia. Pandit Nehru's decision to invite the governments of fifteen Asiatic countries, together with Australia and New Zealand, to a conference at New Delhi must have given pause to The Hague. In announcing the conference Nehru, with his great gift for effective political action, made several specific suggestions. These were (1) withdrawal of the Dutch forces to their former lines; (2) an inquiry into the aggression; (3) stoppage of all aid in any form to the Netherlands; (4) creation of conditions in which the Indonesian Republic can function. Four in number like Mr. Jessup's, Nehru's points went farther in calling for both investigation and punishment of the aggression.

In view of all the difficulties and risks, what induced the moderate and phlegmatic Dutch politicians to embark on such a reckless enterprise? The answer was cynically given in a London dispatch from Herbert L. Matthews to the New York *Times* of January 8. I quote two paragraphs here:

> Moreover, there are now some second thoughts as the Dutch had shrewdly calculated. Britain had reluctantly followed the United States and others in the original condemnation of Dutch action because it was a flagrant violation of agreements that had been entered into with Indonesian Republicans and the U. N. At the same time British officials were privately cursing the Americans for, as they saw it, dashing in cavalierly without duly weighing the issues or taking account of the vital need for Dutch cooperation in the Western Union and the Atlantic Pact.

And:

> As seen here the Dutch were immoral in their action; but, it is held, that action may well serve the end of providing a bulwark against communism in one of the most populous and richest parts of the world.

The "new light" in which, according to Mr. Matthews, the action of the Dutch is now seen in London explains why the Netherlands government felt justified in taking so many risks. The implications of such a philosophy amount to a real revolution in international concepts. Apparently an international action is considered "immoral" only in public discussions in the Security Council or the Assembly; it is soon "explained" in secret talks among the Foreign Ministers as a valuable aid in stopping Russia and communism and then immediately becomes "acceptable."

It is an extraordinary thing that a ruling party like the British Labor Party, with a majority in Parliament, should lend the prestige of its name to actions that only twenty years ago would have provoked a terrific uproar in a congress of the Second International. I have long been astonished that the foreign policy of Mr. Bevin has met with no serious opposition from the rank and file of British Labor, no revolt from the country as a whole. The change in attitude toward the scandalous behavior of the Dutch in Indonesia is only another instance of this submissiveness. If the Security Council does not put an end to such a sinister evolution in foreign policy, any future violation of international law, by any government, will be condoned on the sole ground that it "helps to stop communism." Time will prove that it does just the opposite.

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The Cominform's Plan for the Balkans

BY ALEXANDER WERTH

I. People's Democracy Defined

Sofia, December

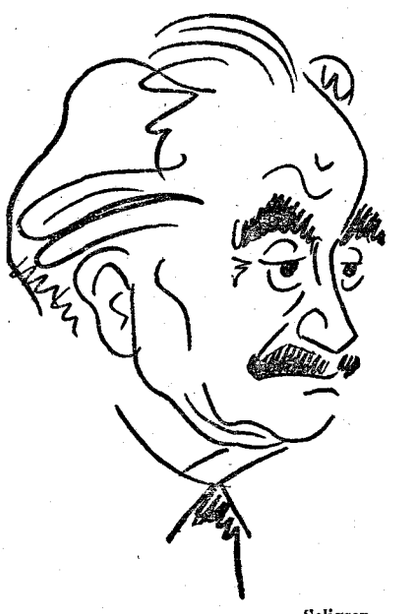
BULGARIA, with its seven million people, is after Albania the smallest and poorest of the "people's democracies." Yet its present leader, the sixty-six-year-old Georgi Dimitrov, was one of the giants of the old Comintern. It was precisely because of Dimitrov that the fifth congress of the Bulgarian Communist Party, held in Sofia on December 18, attracted so much interest outside Bulgaria. The purest of all pure Marxists, Dimitrov is one of the half-dozen leading figures of world communism, and one cannot help feeling, "Poor guy, if only he had a Communist Germany to rule, or at least an industrial country like Czechoslovakia, instead of backward little Bulgaria."

Though he is small, wizened, and sickly-looking, with a weak, tired voice, Dimitrov is now a powerful figure in the Cominform, as is his countryman Kolarov, another old giant of the Comintern. Aware of the relative unimportance of Bulgaria, both men publicly gloried at the Sofia congress in their record as *international* Communists—the first time Communist leaders have done so. In the literature put out for the congress Dimitrov was presented as a man with the closest contacts with Moscow, a man who had spent twenty-two years outside his country, most of them in the Soviet Union. The policy of the Bulgarian Communists since the war, Dimitrov himself candidly and indeed proudly declared, had been influenced by "the Soviet Communist Party and by the personal advice of Comrade Stalin." All his life, he said, he had been a fighter for world communism; and this fact is now brought forward to explain his part in the Reichstag-fire trial, which made him for a time the idol of all anti-Nazi Socialists, liberals, and even conservatives on both sides of the Atlantic—no paper built him up more enthusiastically than the London *Times*.

The Sofia congress, meeting in the grotesque raspberry-colored opera house, one of the worst atrocities perpetrated on the country by the Coburg czars, had therefore an international as well as a purely Bulgarian aspect. A large part of Dimitrov's six-hour speech expressed the views not only of the leader of the Bulgarian Communist Party and the Prime Minister of Bulgaria, but of one of the most authoritative figures in the world Communist movement.

ALEXANDER WERTH, for several years The Nation's *correspondent in Russia, is now covering the other countries of Eastern Europe. This is the first of two articles on Bulgaria.*

Strange if not entirely unexpected things are happening today in Eastern Europe. Much of the 1945-47 Communist camouflage is being stripped off. In Poland President Bierut made a speech recently in which he said in effect that it was "Social Democratic" to go on believing that socialism could coexist indefinitely with private enterprise, or that the conception of a "people's democracy" was "a kind of happy synthesis between East and West." This was a bold thing to say in Poland, and shows how strong the Polish Communists feel since their "fusion" with the Socialists—which one wit has likened to the fusion of the boa and the rabbit. The simile is appropriate in the case of some of the Socialist leaders, but many rank-and-file Socialists willingly accepted fusion, having been impressed by the greater vigor of Communist propaganda and organization and by the argument that the Third Force has no power in Europe today. That is the way things are moving in Europe: people to whom some aspects of communism are thoroughly distasteful jump on the Communist band-wagon because there is no other choice.



Georgi Dimitrov Seligson

But it is becoming less easy now. After welcoming everybody while there was competition from other parties, the Communist leaders are becoming more particular, and in all the Eastern people's democracies one observes pretty much the same process beginning: millions of party members are being put on probation while others are simply thrown out as "careerists and time-servers." This is going on in Bulgaria, in Czechoslovakia, and, in a slightly different form, in Poland. A similar parallelism is to be observed in the general hardening of the party line against "coalitionism," so popular in Czechoslovakia in the Benes days. It was a conception which the Communist leaders, as they now readily admit, encouraged people to believe in; Gottwald criticized

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Communists who were "impatient" between 1945 and 1948, and Dimitrov has admitted that if "coalitionism" and the coexistence of socialism and large-scale private enterprise had to be tolerated and even described as "feasible" by the Bulgarian Communists until recently, it was "partly because there was still an Inter-Allied Control Commission in Bulgaria, the British and American members of which were hostile to us." With the Lulchev trial the last remnants of any organized opposition have been smashed, and Dimitrov found the time ripe for a fresh definition of a people's democracy.

He spoke with all the authority of the old Comintern leader. A people's democracy he defined as a transition stage between capitalism and socialism. In effect he said —and this was never so bluntly stated before—it was a dictatorship of the proletariat which must crush all attempts to revive capitalism. Moreover, a people's democracy was a type of government which could serve as a transition from capitalism to socialism without the introduction of the Soviet system only on one condition—that the country enjoyed the Soviet Union's full support. Finally, Dimitrov said, the question of the nationalization of land was unimportant, since the producer cooperatives—or collective farms—would take care of this; in other words, whether the land, apart from some garden plots, nominally belonged to the members of the cooperative or not was of only academic interest.

NEEDLESS to say, the absence of the Yugoslavs at the congress was disturbing. With two of their neighbors, Greece and Turkey, hostile, the Bulgars are uneasy for elementary strategic reasons when they realize that Yugoslavia is no longer a completely certain ally. It is also upsetting to them to think that the Balkan federation, one of Dimitrov's most cherished ideas and a satisfactory solution of the Macedonian "problem," has for the present been compromised. Dimitrov therefore went out of his way to define the Bulgarian position on both these questions. The broad lines of a Balkan federation, he explained, were laid down in 1947 at a meeting between Tito and himself at Bled, and a plan for unifying Macedonia within the framework of such a federation was partially worked out. Soon afterward a large number of teachers were sent from Yugoslav Macedonia to Pirin, or Bulgar, Macedonia, but later they had to be sent back, their sole object having been to act as propagandists for Tito and a Greater Yugoslavia. Just as the Yugoslavs have often accused the Bulgars of scheming to "unify" Macedonia under their suzerainty, the Bulgarian Communists now claim that Tito wants to steal Pirin Macedonia.

Dimitrov insisted that Bulgaria had no designs whatsoever on Yugoslav territory—except a small piece of "purely Bulgar territory annexed by King Alexander after World War I." The achievement of Macedonian unity as part of the Balkan-federation scheme was being prevented, he said, by "the Tito group," whom he described as "good allies of the Anglo-Americans, who like the Germans in the past were opposing Balkan federation." He showed particular spite against the Macedonian government at Skoplje, which he declared to be a Tito stooge, and against the Macedonian Premier, Lazar Kolishevsky. To please his Belgrade patrons, Kolishevsky, according to Dimitrov, had given a Serbian ending to his perfectly good Bulgar name of Kolishev.

That the government of Yugoslav Macedonia is on the best of terms with Belgrade is of course perfectly true. When I was at the Macedonian national song and dance festival at Skoplje in October, Tito portraits were everywhere, and the folk dancers ended their performance with a grand movement in which they formed the word "TITO" amid loud cheers from the audience.

Many hotheads in Skoplje have demanded the unification of Macedonia and the incorporation in it not only of Pirin Macedonia but also of Greek, or Aegean, Macedonia, "with Salonika as our capital." Dimitrov was careful to say nothing about Aegean Macedonia; any mention of it would have been an immense embarrassment to the Markos Greeks and a weapon for anti-Slav propaganda in Greece.

Since the Cominform resolution the Yugoslavs have done a great deal to hurt the feelings of the Bulgars by ridiculing their war effort. They have referred to "leaders who throughout the war called on their people over the radio to fight" and when the war was over "came home in airplanes smoking their pipes," obviously a crack at Dimitrov. It was partly to answer these charges that Dimitrov spoke proudly of his years in Moscow and of having learned Marxist-Leninist wisdom instead of fighting the Germans, which was less important today. One Yugoslav general has jeered at the Bulgar partisans who "hid in bunkers till the Red Army came and they could crawl out safely." The Bulgar partisans seem, indeed, to have done very little, their total casualties, according to a document published earlier in Sofia but no longer available, having been less than fifty men. But this gibe certainly hurt the Bulgars, and Dimitrov labled it "blasphemy." Of course the Bulgars make much of their three armies which fought in Serbia and Hungary under the command of Marshal Tolbukhin.

That the Bulgars, nevertheless, suffer from an acute sense of inferiority to the Yugoslavs in the matter of their war record was seen from Dimitrov's attempts to answer the Yugoslav wisecracks, especially his remark that "if the fascist governments of Bulgaria and Hitler were not able to send the Bulgarian army to fight the Russians, it was because they were too busy fighting the Bulgar and Yugoslav partisans." Since the role of the Bulgar partisans was obviously very unimportant, he seemed to be bestowing a handsome compliment on Tito.

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BOOKS *and the* ARTS

Literary Task Force

LITERARY HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES. Edited by Robert E. Spiller, Willard Thorp, Thomas H. Johnson, and Henry Seidel Canby. The Macmillan Company. Three Volumes. $20.

THE bureaucratization of culture proceeds apace. Group journalism having established itself in the magazines, its counterpart—group scholarship—is spreading like some foul blight to the universities. The current fashion is for professors to constitute themselves a task force and attack a common research objective, their very numbers supposedly guaranteeing comprehensiveness, objectivity—because their viewpoints are very likely divergent—and victory. Macmillan's formidable new "Literary History of the United States" is a triumph of these methods of collective research and scholarship.

The planning and design of these three volumes—two of text, one of bibliography—required a year of conferences among four editors and three associates. Forty-eight other contributors, after agreeing to a statement of basic principles and a detailed outline of the entire work, were assigned special subjects. Each contributor, the preface observes a trifle ominously, was then "asked to meet, either individually or in group conferences [*sic*], with the editors and associates and with the authors of allied chapters, and discuss the problems presented by his assignment." The writing took three years, the editing and publishing two more. Many of the chapters were substantially revised to fit into the larger plan; "parts of some have been lifted and incorporated elsewhere." The chapters are consequently unsigned, though the unsporting reader can look the authors up in a table in the back. Individuality was not suppressed altogether, however. "Principles of orthography in quotations have been left to the judgment of the respective contributors."

"Writing for some magazines had become almost . . . a purely collective process," remarks [Malcolm Cowley] in a deadpan manner later on in the "Literary History of the United States."

An idea might be suggested by one of the editors, adopted after a conference of executives, assigned to one or more researchers to gather the facts, then to a salaried writer (or sometimes two or three writers in succession) to put the facts together, then again to one or more editors to whip it into final shape. In the Luce magazines most of the articles were unsigned, for one good reason, among others, that it would have been as difficult in some cases to assign them to any single authorship as it would have been to identify the man chiefly responsible for the ten-millionth Chevrolet to move down the production line.

This passage of doubtless unconscious introspection says a good deal of what must first be said about the Literary History. Some of the credits in the back, indeed, read like a Hollywood film: "Art in the Market Place: Robert E. Spiller (with passages by Odell Shepard, Luther S. Mansfield, and John D. Wade)"; or—my favorite—"Theodore Dreiser: by Robert E. Spiller (based, with permission, on an article by James T. Farrell)." No additional dialogue by Ben Hecht?

The tendency of this frightful process is clearly to stamp out all the vitality in the original pieces—unless inspired editing can develop some equivalent. *Time*, for example, is saved from unreadability by brilliant and ruthless editing. The copy is reworked mercilessly for color, for brevity, even for superciliousness, if you like; the result may be altogether lamentable, but its imprint is distinct and arresting.

The editors of the Literary History evidently aimed at an academic moderation and discreet good breeding. This canon has negative virtues. There are amazingly few sentences of Modern Language Association jargon, like this one—"In other words, European philosophical theory, acting as a primary catalyst for forces already deeply indigenous to the American mind, had affected and accelerated a reorientation of literature which was tantamount to raising it to a new plane." But the editing has been a failure on the affirmative side. The emphasis on moderation tends depressingly to dull uniformity. Occasional authors break through—a subdued but still lively H. L. Mencken and an uncommonly vivacious and witty Henry S. Commager—but most succumb without struggle to the prevailing monotony.

The editing, in other words, has not given the work that deeper unity of a single imaginative vision which is essential if it is to have any kind of profound or sustained effect. Who ever reads a collective work? By banishing by-lines without going in for sufficiently sharp and unsparing editing, the designers of the Literary History have sacrificed what advantages there may be to a frank miscellany without achieving the impact of a homogeneous work.

The object of the Literary History is to produce a redefinition of our literary past, "for each generation must define the past in its own terms." The work thus invites comparison with the "Cambridge History of American Literature," which W. P. Trent, John Erskine, Stuart P. Sherman, and Carl Van Doren brought out after the First World War. The Cambridge History used by-lines; it contained independent essays of varying quality, some very good indeed, some quite bad, but all, good or bad, soon to be forgotten in the morass of collectivity. The only volume of the work anyone ever referred me to in my years as a student of American literature was the bibliography.

The "Literary History of the United States" has, of course, replaced the laissez faire collaboration of the Cambridge History, with its streamlined apparatus of principles, outlines, and conferences. It corrects the errors of the latter in many points; and it registers the devaluation that has overcome such once-honored names as Lowell, Holmes, and Longfellow. It covers much more than the Cambridge History. But it has also, oddly enough, narrowed its coverage in certain respects. The editors of the Cambridge History, doubtless under the influence of the young social historians of the time, paid attention to such subjects as education, newspapers, magazines, children's books—subjects

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evidently below the intellectual dignity of the present work.

Yet if we are to explain the omission of these topics on the ground of more elevated intellectual standards, how are we to explain the comparative weakness of the Literary History in the fields of theology and philosophy? It acknowledges Jonathan Edwards and Reinhold Niebuhr, but seems to regard all religion in between as an empty plain occupied by William Ellery Channing and a few Unitarians. The total omission of Horace Bushnell is inexcusable; and such men as Walter Rauschenbusch and Washington Gladden are brushed off in single sentences. Philosophy is similarly weak, particularly when compared to Morris Cohen's sketch in the Cambridge History. The Literary History omits Chauncey Wright, for example, and permits Charles S. Peirce two split-second appearances, like an extra in the crowd scene of a movie. One notes, however, that a really distinguished figure in American literary history, like Van Wyck Brooks, has a score of references after his name in the index.

I do not wish to decry the genuine excellences in these volumes. There are many able essays, particularly on writers of the second order—[Willard Thorp] on the genteel writers, [Wallace Stegner] on Western writers after the Civil War, [Harry Levin] on the discovery of Bohemia. The chapters on the instruments of culture and on the writers' problems of livelihood are highly valuable. Some of the essays on the great writers are very good indeed—such as [R. P. Blackmur] on Henry James, though no really discerning critic should be permitted to write as badly as Blackmur does, [Robert E. Spiller] on Henry Adams, and [Dixon Wecter] on Mark Twain.

But the total effect of the various contributions is far less than the amount of hard and disinterested labor that must have gone into the work. This may be due in part to the weakness of the editing, but in my judgment it is due mainly to the utter wrongness of the basic conception. Indeed, it is safe to predict that, as with the Cambridge History, the volume on bibliography will turn out to be the most widely used. Bibliography is obviously a field which lends itself to collective effort, as history and criticism do not. The bibliographical volume, it may be added, can be bought separately. But for the rest, the Literary History plainly shows that editorial planning, care, and patience are not enough to overcome the disadvantage of too many authors.

"The United States, in its life of less than two centuries," the editors assert a bit too dogmatically, "has produced too much literature for any one man to read and digest. Its literary history can therefore be best written by a group of collaborators, whatever the risk of differences of perspective or opinion." Even if the first sentence were true, the second does not follow from it. The fact is that it is only the individual vision which can be communicated with intensity to other individuals; and all the resources of bureaucracy are no substitute. [Malcolm Cowley] inserts the crucial thought into the Literary History. "Even in fields where the process [of bureaucratization] was less advanced," he remarks, "much of current American writing had come to represent not a personal vision but rather a trend, an imprint, or a decision taken at a board of directors' meeting. . . . There was a tendency to forget that, although a great book expresses a whole culture and hence has millions of collaborators, including persons long since dead, in another sense it must finally be written by one man alone in his room with his conscience and a stock of blank paper."

Mr. Cowley should have embodied this fine thought in a memorandum and sent it, through channels, of course, to the associates, who might then have forwarded it to the editors. Perhaps they all could have held a "group" conference about it.

ARTHUR SCHLESINGER, JR.

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The Facts of Life About China

CHINA: THE LAND AND THE PEOPLE. By Gerald F. Winfield. William Sloane Associates. $5.

PEOPLE who want to know more about China than the latest news of the political and military battles between the Communists and the Kuomintang will find "China: The Land and the People" a pungent, earthy book full of the biological realities that chain most Chinese to a poverty level of existence. Those Americans who loudly proclaim the solution of China's problems in a few catch phrases should be required to read the entire book down to the last liver fluke. Perhaps some of them will then join the author in believing that "there is no simple, no easy, no quick solution" for China.

Those of us in Chungking who knew Dr. Gerald F. Winfield, research biologist and public-health expert of Cheloo University, well enough to call him "Gerry" have long been awaiting his book on China. We saw him carry the

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first chapters down the long winding path on the south bank of the Yangtze from the United Nations Picture News Office, where he served during part of the war as director, across the swirling brown torrent in a ferry, always too small for the number of passengers, up the crowded steps of Chungking, which he describes so vividly, and into a solidly packed bus to the United States Information Service with its Stateside mail service. Since those sticky, humid days in 1945 he has been gathering more material and more perspective.

No more graphic, popular account is available on the basic problems of health and population in China. Some squeamish readers might prefer fewer paragraphs on hookworms, blood flukes, and intestinal worms, but no reader can forget Dr. Winfield's simile: the equilibrium "developed between man and nature in China is like a balanced aquarium." In the first part of the book, which is given over to a description of the land and the people, the chapters on health and agriculture stand out. The major differences in agricultural production are sharply defined as the author describes in detail the yearly cycle in the flat, dry, wheat-growing section of Shantung and in the damp, sometimes hilly rice country in Szechuan. Likewise, the reliance on "wind, water, and muscle" for transportation is vividly portrayed. This means that there is no single nation-wide market but a patchwork of local markets limited by the fact that "at least half the tonnage moved in all China is moved on men's backs." Though the point is explicitly made by Dr. Winfield and is implicit throughout most of the book, it cannot be hammered home often enough to Americans who assume the universality of corner grocery stores, filling stations, and drug emporia with products from all over the world. Other chapters in Part I are also full of valuable if not entirely new information.

Part II, as Dr. Winfield admits, is more "iffy." Here he presents a "rough but realistic fifty-year program for creating a modernized" China. Many hard-headed Old China hands and many Chinese, who are among the world's more famous skeptics, may be cool to the author's use of assumptions and geometric progressions, of the arguments from one or two small samples or experiments to broad generalizations, and to his enthusiasm for such a super-colossal project as the Yangtze Valley Authority, technically sound as it may be. Yet Dr. Winfield has done the great service of opening up to an American audience some of the really stupendous, and interrelated, problems involved in modernizing China. Undoubtedly other specialists will tackle some of these problems and come out with different answers; many facets need to be explored before a realistic appraisal of the China scene will be possible, and a few more up-to-date and reliable statistics would do no harm.

From the time of Malthus to Vogt certain students of social problems have been citing population rather than the social system or the class in power as the cause of all ills. Winfield tends to fall into that school, but unlike Malthus he refuses to accept overpopulation as inevitable. Perhaps the most radical suggestion in the book is to be found in his advocacy of a public-health pro-

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gram for China which "emphasizes the prevention of births more than the saving of lives." His threefold program includes: (1) keeping the present checks on population until positive methods of reducing births are practical; (2) introducing a large, selective medical health program to reduce births as it reduces death; and (3) speeding up of industrialization, which in other countries has checked births, by the transfer of 180,000,000 Chinese from the farm to industry. Imagine a public-health man who minimizes programs to prevent contagious diseases. But Winfield, the biologist, is a hard-headed scientist who realizes that China's salvation will come only through an increase in production, and that if the population should increase as a result of public-health measures without any positive checks, the amount available for each mouth might be no more than now. He tells of a model community where birth control was gradually introduced, and he counts on the practical Chinese to see its value in spite of religious and economic pressures for large families.

Using Lossing Buck's excellent pre-war studies of land use, Winfield agrees that a "large thirteen-acre" farm is a more efficient unit than a "small one-to-four-acre" farm. He argues therefore, that the Communists' program of land division, which takes land away from the landlords and divides it into small parcels for previously landless farmers, will result in a decrease rather than an increase in agricultural production. And he chides those in America who favor the land-division policy of the Communists. Valid as this argument may be on the basis of the sample studied, it is likewise evident from his book as a whole that the old pre-scientific agriculture must be modernized and the ties with the feudal past broken. There is considerable doubt in this reviewer's mind that all Nationalist officials have refused to sanction a land distribution policy for the "statistically sound" reason mentioned by the author. The desire of the landless Chinese to own land is not incompatible with change. Since farming is the key to the Chinese economy today, this drive for ownership should be encouraged, not thwarted; but it should be supplemented by the many valuable biological and technological suggestions contained in this book.

Dr. Winfield is at his best when he is writing about the farm courtyards of China; he is at his second best in presenting the overwhelming problems that must be solved if China is to become a modern nation friendly to the United States; he is probably least effective in discussing contemporary political problems. In a sense that may be a reflection of the state of China itself. It is so engrossed with the problems of food, clothing, and shelter that it has little time for planning; the plans that do emerge tend to be grandiose and unreal; and there is little energy left for dealing with current political crises.

EVERETT D. HAWKINS

If you will be among the thousands that will come by car, train and airplane to the famous Badlands of North Dakota in June, 1949, to witness the dedication of America's new playground — **THE THEODORE ROOSEVELT NATIONAL MEMORIAL PARK** —*be sure to first read:*

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The "Old Lion"

TOMORROW IS BEAUTIFUL. By Lucy Robins Lang. The Macmillan Company. $3.50.

UNDER a soap-opera title Mrs. Lang has written another apologia for a radical youth. They are coming thick these days. They follow a familiar formula. The author starts off as a rebel throwing bricks and ends up safe in the arms of the New Deal, the *Reader's Digest*, or the Congregational or Roman Catholic church as the case may be. Along the line he or she joins the Socialists, the I. W. W.'s, or the Communists and gets involved in factional fights which are described in dreary detail. Disillusionment follows, and in the last chapter there is a lyric tribute to F. D. R., the Golden Rule, or the "free enterprise" system. Like Voltaire's "Candide," the author is pictured as cultivating his or her garden, living with memories of "battles long ago," convinced that somehow tomorrow will be beautiful, but in the meantime handing down to the youngsters of today a record of the futilities of yesterday for which discouraging is a very mild adjective.

Mrs. Lang's book has a novel twist inasmuch as it was Sam Gompers who first showed her the errors of her radical ways. Gompers is here pictured as a benevolent "old lion," to use the author's expression, whose great heart was torn with secret—I'll say it was secret—sympathy for such victims of the class struggle as Eugene Victor Debs and Tom Mooney and who moved behind the scenes far more effectively than any radical agitators to secure their release from jail.

The author says that she was converted to Gompersism when in her first interview with the old lion she made the startling discovery that Sam had all the while been working for Mooney—that is, according to the contents of a folder which Sam handed to the young rebel when she finally got to see him, after denouncing him for his inactivity.

> When I finished reading the documents in a corner of his [Gompers's] office, I was crushed, as if I had been flung out of his seventh-story window. Our raucous protest rallies, it now appeared to me, had been as futile as a child's tantrum. The victories we thought we had won had actually been achieved by the masterly hand that had pulled wires behind the scene. . . . I handed the folder to him too ashamed for speech.

From then on Mrs. Lang went along with the Fat Boys of the A. F. of L., even accepting Bill Green and Matt Woll in her rightist stride.

Such confessions of a misspent radi-

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cal youth as Mrs. Lang's would go over better if everyone who has stuck to his leftist principles were now dead or at any rate a victim of convenient amnesia. The author quotes Gompers as saying during the A. Mitchell Palmer reign of terror after World War I, "So what matters it if you and I are put in jail for upholding the principles of justice?" When, however, for a moment it looked as though Gompers might go to jail in the Bucks Stove injunction proceedings, the old lion broke down and wept; so that Debs remarked drily, "Gompers has been mumbling his apologetic excuses like an old woman in the grip of a constable." Mrs. Lang describes the great enthusiasm with which Gompers was received by the workers on his visit to Russia after the First World War. His mission was to dissuade the Bolsheviks from their revolutionary ways and to teach them the virtues of "pure and simple unionism." As I got the story, after Sam said his piece, the Russian interpreter explained with a straight face that Comrade Gompers had come over with two speeches, one for the Russians and one for the Laplanders, and that by mistake he had just delivered the second. Mrs. Lang also describes a very merry luncheon party at which she and Sam and Secretary of Labor William Wilson were gay because Wilson, Sam's man, had been appointed.

Their lightheartedness seemed very strange; I expected important men dealing with world affairs to be care-worn and sober. Radical groups were always grim, and anyone who displayed a sense of humor was accused of betraying the revolution. Was it the sense of how little they were accomplishing that made radicals so glum?

It may be, of course, that radical groups are a bit grim because they are not eating quite as well as "the important men," or it may be that Mrs. Lang has been outside the movement so long that she has forgotten that Socialists can still laugh.

Perhaps we must excuse Mrs. Lang for her excessive gloss of Gompers in view of the fact that the old lion proposed marriage to her, as she records on pages 183-4. You can't really write with cold objectivity about a man who has proposed to you, can you, girls?

MCALISTER COLEMAN

Fiction in Review

TO ANYONE who came of literary age in the period between wars the appearance of a new novel by John Dos Passos is bound to be an occasion for sentiment. It is therefore pleasant to be able to report that, however sharp one's divergence from Mr. Dos Passos's present political opinions, one can still read his new and very political novel, "The Grand Design" (Houghton Mifflin, $3.50), as one might spend an evening with an old friend from whom one has been long removed—animated by common recollections, warmed by the energy of his responses to the world, pleased that in disagreement he at least remains a sizable adversary.

Yet, despite this old loyalty or perhaps because of it, there is also the aching realization of how sad it is that a novelist who was once so boldly radical in his social thinking should now have let himself be pushed to such an extreme of reaction. Mr. Dos Passos's disillusionment with the organized political left is certainly understandable: who that has lived through the last decade and a half and retained a jot of his wits and integrity could feel otherwise? But what is there, one wants to know, in the emotion of radicalism—is it the taste for absolutes?—which makes for this swing of the pendulum just because the revolutionary ideal has been shattered? Why could not the short acute vision of the world which Mr. Dos Passos had as a radical novelist have widened with the years to the compass of tragedy rather than narrowed, as it has, to the compass of bitterness?

For one need not be a very passionate Roosevelt partisan to be dismayed by both the bitter tone and the unfairness of Mr. Dos Passos's estimate of the Roosevelt Administration. "The Grand Design" is a panorama of the years from 1932 to 1942, a Washington story of the way in which the idealism of the New Deal disappeared under the pressure of political opportunism and the urge to personal power. The devil in the machine is Roosevelt himself, who never actually appears in the book but whose presence is kept in our minds by repeated reference to the famous

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smile, the famous radio voice, the familiar long cigarette holder: "that man in the White House," for all his physical absence from Mr. Dos Passos's novel, is its chief character. Only secondary in importance and malignity is Walker Watson, the not very successful composite of Harry Hopkins and Henry Wallace. To the blind, wilful, demagogic course pursued by Roosevelt and the spurious, undisciplined, self-deceiving course pursued by Watson, Mr. Dos Passos bends the fate of all the subsidiary people in his novel—the fate, that is, of American democracy in our time. It is his belief that although there were some true idealists in government in this decade of our national degeneration—like his Millard Carroll and Paul Graves, who sacrifice their decent, quiet private lives in order to devote themselves to the public good—they were doomed to defeat by their leadership, and down to defeat with them went the radiant hopes of the American people.

Even the briefest outline of Mr. Dos Passos's case against the New Deal indicates his use of the goals of liberalism as a stick with which to beat reaction and of the attitudes of reaction as a stick with which to beat the liberals. But a review can barely suggest the bias of the case he builds up against the New Deal—his failure, for instance, to point out that a Millard Carroll or Paul Graves would never have considered working in government, let alone been given an important post, had it not been for the Roosevelt dispensation; his refusal to take into account the alternatives the country faced in 1932: from the perspective of a recovered prosperity the pump-priming of the '30's has a different look from what it would have had if this country had continued in the hands-off-private-enterprise spirit which governed us into the depression; the fact that Mr. Dos Passos dwells on Roosevelt's manifest errors in the sphere of agrarian policy but fails to give the credit which even the most disillusioned radical should be willing to grant the New Deal for the permanent gains it won for industrial labor. Even more distressing, however, than this unjust weighting of his argument is Mr. Dos Passos's evident commitment, if only in reverse, to that most unworthy of notions of the complex evolutionary process—the great-man notion of history. Apparently it is Roosevelt, one man, whom Mr. Dos Passos holds liable for the whole course of our national development since the days of Hoover; he quite ignores the degree to which, for better or worse, the President represented the general will of the country. This is a peculiarly unthoughtful attitude for a man as sophisticated in politics as Mr. Dos Passos. It is also dangerous, since it implies that the democratic method has really no validity in practice—that such a phenomenon, say, as the reelection of Truman represents only the persistence of the Roosevelt image and not the desire of the American people that the basic direction of the Roosevelt Administration be maintained.

In short, what Mr. Dos Passos has done is to launch an essentially irresponsible attack upon a political complex which requires great judiciousness, and we must suspect that its excess stems from the frustration of his old impulse to perfection. In all his novels we recognize Mr. Dos Passos's profound impatience with the human individual because he is so much less than ideal. Now it is politics itself which falls so lamentably short of the ideal because it is the contrivance of the fallible individual!

As I have said, the chief and most erring character in "The Grand Design" never actually appears in it. But none of its people can be described as having the gift of life: they are all merely lay figures in the landscape of corruption. It is with his Communist caricatures, brief as they are, that Mr. Dos Passos does best: evidently a novelist can even hate well only where he has once loved well. But one can scarcely suppose that anyone not already convinced will be persuaded that Mr. Dos Passos is not falsifying his picture of the Washington comrades. This is the price he pays for marking himself as such a prejudiced observer: he seriously weakens the value of his accurate and knowledgeable observations on Communist infiltration into the higher echelons of government, particularly among liberals, who most need persuading.

And, indeed, all along the line Mr. Dos Passos has now compromised his power to speak to that section of the reading public which should be his proper audience. There has always been, among liberals, a cloud of piety around the subject of the Roosevelt years, a quite effective conspiracy of silence about the many opportunistic or ill-advised or stupid policies whose results we still suffer. It is about time this self-imposed censorship was broken, the mists dispersed—but by writers who remain basically sympathetic with the liberal aims of the New Deal, not by opponents from the right. Because Mr. Dos Passos no longer thinks in terms of the reactionary "enemy," he no longer hesitates to criticize the mistakes of liberalism for fear of giving comfort to the enemy—that silly shibboleth which provides such a fine refuge from uncomfortable political truths. This freedom might well be borrowed from him—but for the purpose of investigating the actual political facts, not for the purpose of obscuring them still further.

DIANA TRILLING

Art

CLEMENT GREENBERG

THOMAS COLE came to this country from England in 1818, at the age of seventeen, and began his education as a painter in Ohio. By twenty-five he had won the patronage of some of the foremost American collectors of his day, as well as the interest of Fenimore Cooper and William Cullen Bryant. His forte was the romantic grand-style landscape as developed in the England of Turner and Benjamin Haydon under the influence of Claude Lorrain, Salvator Rosa, Ruysdael, and Hobbema. Cole's pictorial imagination, with its leaning toward grandiloquence, became the main immediate influence behind the Hudson River School, whose panoramas, though less explicitly literary than his, remained faithful from be-

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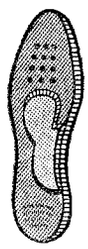

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ginning to end to his conception of landscape painting.

Meeting Cole's pictures from time to time in group shows and museums, one was impressed from the first by his superiority to the other members of the Hudson River School, and saw in him an artist strong enough to be placed on an equal footing with Eakins, Homer, and Ryder, not to mention Innes and Allston. Viewed in the aggregate, as he is now presented in a comprehensive loan exhibition at the Whitney Museum (through January 30) to commemorate the hundredth anniversary of his death, one may feel compelled to lower this estimate (though it is possible that the fifty oils on hand have been unimaginatively chosen and that a much better case could still be made for him). One or two of Cole's landscapes are indeed among the best things in the romantic-realist vein I have ever seen, and at least ten of the pictures shown at the Whitney come off excellently in their own terms, but there is a great unevenness of level that often compromises these terms.

I would surmise that Cole did not adequately understand his own gift, which was great enough but constricted by the influences to which his literary ambitions subjected it—such as that of Claude Lorrain, for instance, a master whose occasional magnificence did not always have a good effect on Turner either. Essentially a realist, Cole produced his best work when he painted with his eye on the visual facts, whose complexity extended his art far more than his literary imagination could. When, on the other hand, he recomposed nature in "ideal" terms, as he did in his more ambitious subject pictures, he would apply a formal rhetoric got from the old masters—or from steel-engraved reproductions of them—that was too heavy, mechanical, and uniform to permit the canvas to breathe. Cole's brush appears for the most part to have had a coarse touch anyway, but where he followed nature in detail his powers as a colorist were called forth and overcame this fault. Elsewhere, beyond the brittle and unfelt paint surfaces, we see only his powers as a draftsman.

Cole died at forty-seven, while still in full development. One can suppose that had he lived longer he would have come to understand himself better; the fashion for "ideal" literature in landscape painting began to die down by the middle of the nineteenth century, and he might then perhaps have put his pictorial imagination to more effective use elsewhere than in allegory or moralism. As it is, the two best paintings at the Whitney are straight landscapes done with topographical and atmospheric fidelity, both in the last ten years of his life: the lovely "The Pass Which Is Called 'the Notch of the White Mountains,'" and the equally lovely "Catskill Mountain House." In these canvases the autumnal foliage that was Cole's favorite motif forces him to organize in terms of color, and its variegation, together with the crowded variety of nature itself, offers no room for those dull, dead stretches of mahogany or mauve that weigh down his allegorical paintings. Nature was more rich and subtle pictorially than his own invention, or at least that aspect of it which, in harmony with its age, mistook declamation for imagination.

It remains that Cole was one of the best artists America has produced, and if his talent was aborted in part, that was at least something very typical for American art and literature, then and later. How great Cole's native talent was can be seen from his line drawings, of which there are many at the Whitney show. His draftsmanship has a sensitive precision and an instinct for the unity of the page that enables it to stand comparison with Claude's. One would like to see these drawings reproduced in quantity in a book.

The first one-man show in America—at Sidney Janis's through January 22—of the late French artist, Robert Delaunay, who died in 1941, reveals an enterprising painter whose influence is perhaps more important than his art, fine as that is. Delaunay began as a neo-impressionist, was then a fauve, became a cubist by 1910, and was one of the first artists in the world to paint fully abstract easel pictures. The stamp of impressionism, with its preoccupation with chromatic effects, always remained strong in his art; thus he was also among the first, if not the very first, of the followers of cubism to introduce color into that style, which he did while it was still in its "analytic" phase. Delaunay quickly went on from there to a prismatic, curvilinear, abstract kind of painting that became known as "orphism." But he returned to representation from time to time in subsequent years, occasionally working in a manner surprisingly close to Bonnard's, and only in the late thirties — according to this show's evidence—did he become a confirmed abstract artist.

I am told that Delaunay's art, as embodied in such an abstractly cubist yet delicately colored picture as "Les Fenêtres" of 1912, had a stimulating effect on Klee when he visited Paris before the First World War. There is no doubt in my mind that the Delaunay of this same period and a little later had an influence on Chagall, Léger, and especially Kandinsky. Much later on the

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relation was reversed in the case of the last two, and Delaunay, whose powers seem to have weakened with age, accepted *their* influence. His affinity with Kandinsky appears always to have been strong; they both retained impressionist color as long as possible, and when Kandinsky went over into abstract geometry in flat high colors, Delaunay followed him—with equally disastrous results, as we can see from his work in the thirties. But Delaunay was a good painter before that, a very good if still a minor one.

Records

B. H. HAGGIN

MAHLER'S "Lieder eines fahrenden Gesellen," four poignant small-scale embodiments of the Mahler feeling in the Mahler style, have been recorded for English Decca by Eugenia Zareska with the London Philharmonic under Van Beinum (ED-71, $5.25). She uses her luscious mezzo-soprano voice with excellent musical effect; the orchestra's playing is very fine and superbly reproduced. The texts of the songs are not given, as they should be.

Musical use of another beautiful voice, the rich contralto of Katherine Ferrier, is heard with good singing and playing by the London Philharmonic Choir and Orchestra under Clemens Krauss—all excellently reproduced, and all wasted on Brahms's Alto Rhapsody, one of those lugubriously dull vocal works in which Brahms plays the philosopher (ED-69, $5.25). Here too the text is not given.

And the fresh, luscious soprano of Daniza Ilitsch is heard in several Verdi duets recorded for Columbia (MM-798, $6): with Kurt Baum in the Nile Scene duet and *O terra, addio* from "Aida" and the *Miserere* from "Il Trovatore"; with Richard Tucker in the second-act duet from "Un Ballo in Maschera" and the first-act duet from "Otello." She appears not to have her voice always under control: she has trouble with a few of the high notes, is shrill at the beginning of the "Un Ballo" duet, and cannot keep the voice within a continuous phrase-line in the "Otello" duet. But for the most part her singing is very beautiful; and the tenors are good too. The accompaniments by the Metropolitan Orchestra under Max Rudolph are acceptable; the over-all recorded sound is good; but the singers seem not to stay always at the same distance from the microphone, and the orchestra sometimes seems to be in front of them. Again no texts.

On a Columbia single disc (72727-D) is *Fia dunque vero* from "La Favorita," most of it sung superbly by Ebe Stignani with the Rome Augusteo Orchestra under Bellezza.

From Mercury there is a little set ($2.89) of Beethoven's charming song-cycle "An die ferne Geliebte," sung by William Horne, tenor, with Franz Rupp at the piano. The clearly reproduced singing is monotonous in color and style; the piano-playing comes out strangely diffused and distorted in a haze of excessive reverberation. The texts are given.

And from RCA Victor a volume of spirituals (MO-1238, $5) sung by Marian Anderson with Rupp at the piano. These are the things she sings best; and in some of them her voice is exceptionally beautiful. Rupp's playing is extraordinary in its tonal beauty and musical life.

On a Victor single (12-0585) are one of Sibelius's best pieces, "The Swan of Tuonela," one of Stokowski's best performances, beautiful playing under his direction by the specially assembled orchestra, and extraordinarily beautiful reproduction of this playing. On another (12-0583) are the lovely Sinfonia from Bach's Christmas Oratorio and a charming little Gavotte from the Handel-Beecham "Amaryllis" Suite, excellently played by the Royal Philharmonic under Beecham, and excellently reproduced except for the usual heavy bass. And on a Columbia single (12917-D) is Debussy's "L'Après-midi d'un faune" played by the Philadelphia Orchestra under Ormandy—with the tempo changing in almost every bar and with mannered phrasing of the flute melody by Kincaid, but with beautiful playing by the orchestra, which is well reproduced except that the antique cymbals are mostly inaudible. The surfaces of my copy are unusually noisy.

Continuing my report on the new pickups I am sorry to have to say that no matter how the Astatic LP-78 cartridge—for use in the FL-33 pickup for standard records—was equalized, it did not reproduce the high frequencies sufficiently. On the other hand Astatic's new MI-2 magneto-induction cartridge gives excellent reproduction of standard recordings; and the MI-2M-33 cartridge produces an even solider bass and brighter treble than the FL-33 with LP recordings. The MI-2, however, operates with a stylus-pressure of 1 ounce—which means that the stylus is likely to be worn down after 150 to 200 shellac sides, and—since it is not replaceable—the entire cartridge will have to be replaced (list price $7.50). The MI-2M-33, operating with only 10 grams' pressure on vinylite, should last a long time. These cartridges require an equalizer-preamplifier—the one I used with them being the Astatic EA-1 ($9.90).

I hope to report soon on the new G. E. cartridge for LP recordings.

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Letters to the Editors

Help for the "Seattle Six"

Dear Sirs: There is a contest going on in Seattle, Washington, right now that is for keeps. Readers of *The Nation* may have heard of the un-American activities of the Canwell committee; if not, they certainly know what can be expected from a state committee whose methods can perhaps only be topped by those of its ideological parents in Washington, D. C. We have all seen the Thomas committee rocket to national infamy. What we have not all seen is close personal friends being humiliated by a committee which does not recognize the inviolable rights of American citizens and much less knows or understands the meaning of personal integrity.

I am not writing this letter simply because I happen to know well some of the six persons who refused to answer 1948's $64 question—and who are now out on bail. Nor shall I try to explain that these six individuals, known as the Seattle Six, are refusing to answer this question because they believe that if they compromise in any way in this fight they may make it possible for 1949's $64 question to strike even farther into our privacy. What I want to tell your readers is that the fight in Seattle today is one into which all of us can plunge, one in which we *can* do something.

The six on trial are Professor Herbert J. Phillips of the Department of Philosophy of the University of Washington, Dr. Ralph Gundlach of the Psychology Department, Burton James and Mrs. Florence Bean James, founders and directors of Seattle's Civic Repertory Playhouse, Albert M. Ottenheimer, actor and playwright and associate of the Repertory Playhouse for twenty years, and Rachmiel Forschmiedt, senior sanitarian of the Seattle Health Department for eleven years. They have no resources, either as individuals or as a group, to fight and win their cases, which are coming up very soon. And already the costs, not including attorneys' fees, run into several thousand dollars. But for the first time in many long weeks of despair there is hope. This month, when the new state legislature convenes, there is a chance that the Canwell committee will be repudiated and its report and recommendations rejected. But the fight of these six will go on, and only with help from those who share their feelings can there be any hope of winning.

Nation readers will know what the stakes are for these six persons. They will want to help. Contributions may be sent to Florence Bean James, for the Seattle Six, 4719 University Way, Seattle, Washington.

JOHN H. BUNZEL

New York, January 10

"Damn Yankees" Abroad?

Dear Sirs: Nathaniel Peffer wrote in your issue of December 18, 1948, discussing two books on Japan, that "it is highly doubtful whether any country's society and culture and intellectual and moral attitudes can be made over by an alien occupying force, especially if the country has been crushed by that force." This of course applies not only to Japan but to Germany.

I wonder whether it would not be interesting for an American historian, which unfortunately I am not, to compare the developments in Germany as well as in Japan with what happened to the Confederate states after the Civil War. Even today, eighty years after the war, Northerners are still "damn Yankees." And some of the goals for which that war was fought have not yet been attained; although we perhaps are gradually approaching them.

L. H. GREENTREE

Scarsdale, N. Y., January 7

Mr. Clark to Mr. Snowdon

Dear Sirs: Mr. Snowdon's letter on the Gieseking case in your last issue makes an all too familiar type of attack on me by seeking to discredit my motives rather than the facts I presented. I did not, as charged, "give in to bias and prejudice." I was, at the time the *Times* ordered the article in question almost a year ago, inexcusably unfamiliar with the case, and learned the details *without exception* from Military Government files. So the bias and prejudice, if it exists, is in those files. And except for a very brief introduction my article at no point commented on the facts; it simply summarized them.

I did not, as charged, "find it very inconvenient" to omit the first name of Meyer Kurz, the Jewish lawyer who had been Gieseking's American attorney. I wrote my letter to *The Nation* rather hurriedly and at my home, where I did not have access to Meyer Kurz's full name and identification. While I am not anti-Semitic, I submit that a Jew can fall into error as easily as a member of the master race, or even a former intelligence officer of the army of the United States.

My estimate of Gieseking's playing in Berlin the one time I heard him was the honest estimate of one not unversed in music both as performer and as critic, and was shared by many others who heard that concert. I will concede that it may have been in part the fault of abominable conducting by Sergiu Celibidache. I am as entitled to my criticism of the performance as is Mr. Snowdon, who did not hear it, or the "trained critic" of *Musical America,* although I am a bit surprised that *Musical America* maintains a critic in Berlin these days. Could this critic by any chance have been a member of the staff of the Theater-Music Section of the Information Control Division, which was responsible for the concert's being given? In any event, and this I wish to stress, I heard the concert before I wrote the article or saw the Gieseking file; so the charge of bias can hardly stand up. By contrast, I covered for the *Times* Furtwängler's first Berlin concert following his denazification, and while I did not applaud the man, I had nothing but praise for his conducting.

Finally, I refer you and Mr. Snowdon to some letters from the Gieseking file (British Sector) in Berlin, which were printed in the *Times* on January 9. They dispose of the illusion that Gieseking avoided contacts with Nazi officialdom. It seems to me that the one who is stuck with an argument is not Clark but Snowdon.

DELBERT CLARK

New York, January 15

Mr. Snowdon to Mr. Clark

Dear Sirs: Mr. Clark was kind enough to send me a copy of his letter to you. His explanation regarding the omission of Mr. Kurz's first name is inherently incredible—all he needed was a telephone book to get the full name. His critical estimate of Gieseking's playing

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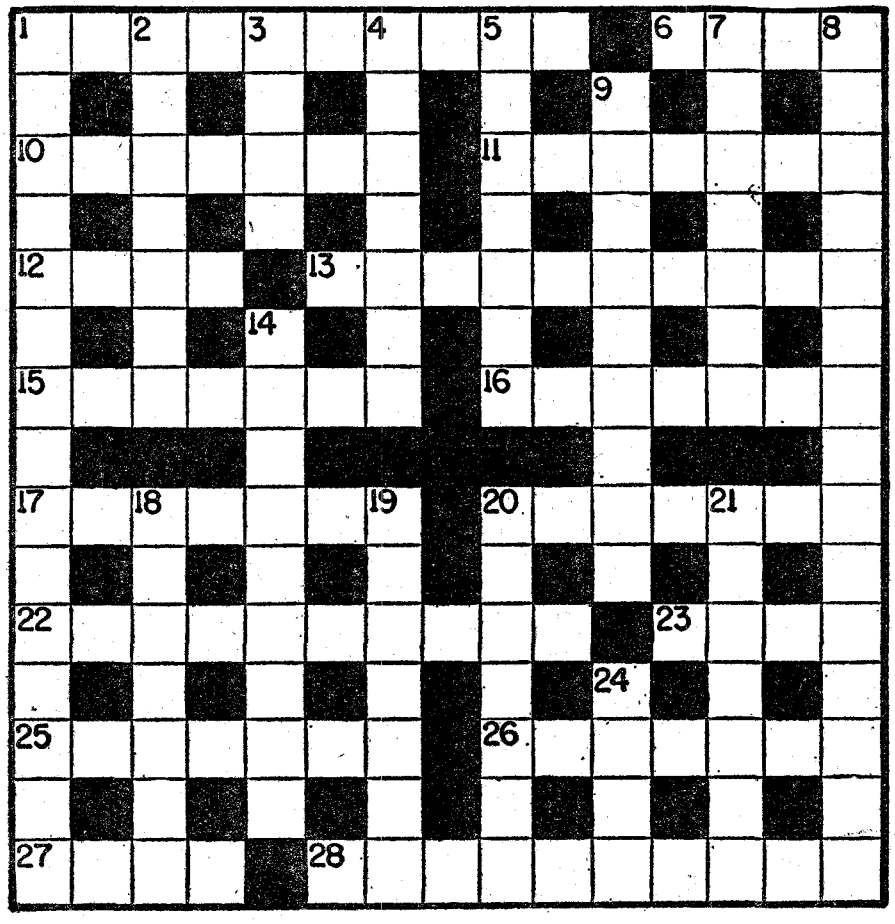
Crossword Puzzle No. 297

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 He strives against stagnation. (10)
6 What they called "That Hamilton Woman." (4)
10 He was rather loud-mouthed. (7)
11 Musician, found alternatively in the string section. (7)
12 This is usually up to something! (4)
13 Mainly milk and water, with little of the last. (7, 3)
15 Barracks. (7)
16 In the capital, it's sort of late before six and five. (3, 4)
17 With Winchell's compliments. (7)
20 Doesn't make the hair short, by a long ways! (7)
22 Overwhelming but rather rotten liar. (10)
23 This leaves things as they stand, with or without proof. (4)
25 Heads are stretched over a tiny map. (7)
26 A quantity of electricity. (7)
27 They don't seem to meet very often, nowadays! (4)
28 How to make eyes at a famous old athlete, or merely founder? (10)

DOWN

1 Theoretical in name and deed, perhaps. (8, 2, 5)
2 Mother's disturbed—so much from the flask, maybe? (7)
3 A good one sometimes implies the S. R. O. sign. (4)
4 Harold was beaten by them. (7)
5 Got the old trombone out of the bag yet? (7)
7 This "hammer" hasn't helped us to get down to brass tacks! (7)
8 and 14. Everything practically has to be! (6, 9, 2, 7)
9 Usually has a battery, but not always light. (9)
14 See 8.
18 Glanced. (7)
19 Sometimes a pose, but not as a standing engagement. (7)
20 Engaged with solitaire, perhaps. (7)
21 Usually marked "Exit Only"? (7)
24 Breakfast for the husky? (4)

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 296

ACROSS:—1 and 4 down MARIA THERESA; 4 TONSORIAL; 9 NEBULAE; 10 GIBBONS; 11 REAR; 12 WELLS; 13 BASS; 16 LATAKIA; 17 SUBJECT; 19 SIGNETS; 22 TREFOIL; 24 PEER; 25 TOUGH; 26 STEP; 29 KINSHIP; 30 TOBACCO; 32 TILDE.

DOWN:—1 MANDRILLS; 2 ROBSART; 3 AWLS; 5 NOGALES; 6 ORBS; 7 ISOLATE; 8 LASTS; 14 SKIER; 15 IBSEN; 18 and 31 across TELEPHONE DIRECTORY; 20 GLEANER; 21 SCORPIO; 22 TIGHTLY; 23 OPTICAL; 24 POKED; 27 CHIC; 28 ABET.

Readers are invited to send for a free copy of Mr. Lewis's "ground rules." Address requests to Puzzle Dept., The Nation, 20 Vesey Street, New York 7, New York.

in Berlin is wholly irrelevant. As he well knows, the point was that the quality of the playing was entirely foreign to the discussion of Gieseking's political ideology. It was injected to prejudice the mind of the reader.

His article in the *Times* of January 9 (published without an opportunity to reply thereto) is a perfect example of Mr. Clark's bias. He says in substance that if you were a member of the Nazi Party, you are damned; if you were not a member, you are damned too, because you could have been a Nazi without being a party member. Moreover, he cites Gieseking's 1933 application for membership in an alleged Nazi Culture Organization as evidence of his Nazi ideology. Without consulting Gieseking, I do not know what his answer is; but I do know that in the first few months of the Hitler regime it was hardly possible for new organizations to have crystallized and publicized their ideals and functions with such a definiteness as to deserve a black label as distinguished from a white one. As a matter of fact, the whole Hitler regime did not become internationally black in the early months of 1933, though it was already becoming suspect to thinking, informed people.

EDWARD W. SNOWDON

New York, January 16

Mr. Kurz to Mr. Clark

Dear Sirs: I understand that I am mentioned in correspondence from Edward W. Snowdon and Delbert Clark which you are about to publish. Mr. Clark, disclaiming any anti-Semitism, makes the point that I, as a Jew, may have fallen into error regarding Gieseking. That is of course possible, but it is beside the point, which is that Gieseking employed a Jewish lawyer all through the thirties of the Hitler regime. It is most unfortunate that Mr. Clark should have made the Gieseking case such an obsession that he can't see straight.

MEYER KURZ

New York, January 16

Mr. Clark to All, And to All a Good Night

Dear Sirs: Mr. Snowdon says I could have got Kurz's first name and identification from the telephone book. There are thirty-nine Kurzes listed in the Manhattan directory alone, and many of them are lawyers. I agree that whether Gieseking plays well or not was beside the point, but it was a matter of interest, I think.

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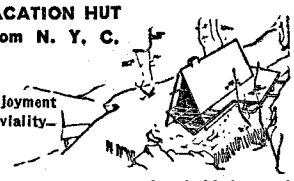

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In his second paragraph Mr. Snowdon refers to "an alleged Nazi Culture Organization." He knows better than this. This "alleged Nazi Culture Organization" was listed by name in the United States zone denazification law, along with many similar groups, and their officers above a certain rank were subject to arrest and prosecution under that law. This point was made in my *Times* article of January 9 but had to be cut for space reasons. And while it is possible that Snowdon did not see the black in the Hitler regime in May, 1933, if he didn't, he must have been pretty myopic.

Now a constructive suggestion: I don't object to Gieseking's playing here or anywhere else. I believe artists should be permitted to perform. But I would have put them all on a modest salary basis, under complete Military Government control, with the public understanding that all profits from their appearances would be devoted to the Victims of Fascism, the International Refugee Office, the United Nations Children's Fund, or some similar organization devoted to partial repair of the damage the Nazis did. If they accepted on these terms—and I think few of those who ardently followed Mussolini or Hitler would—then we could hear them with a clear conscience.

I promise you that this will be definitely the last letter you will receive from me in the Gieseking matter, unless you ask me for one.

DELBERT CLARK

New York, January 17

[*Correspondence in these pages on the subject of Walter Gieseking is now terminated.*—EDITORS THE NATION.]

Biographical Department

Dear Sirs: I am collecting material for a biography of Peter Kropotkin, and am writing to ask if you could draw this fact to the attention of your readers. If any of them can give me information regarding Kropotkin's visits to the United States in 1897 and 1901, I shall be very grateful. My address is 5, Kensington Church Street, London, W. 8.

GEORGE WOODCOCK

London, January 6

Dear Sirs: I am editing the official collection of Mark Twain letters, and will be happy to hear from all who have Twain letters in their possession or know of their whereabouts.

CYRIL CLEMENS, President,
International Mark Twain Society

Webster Groves, Mo., January 10

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